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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

VII

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR

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Translated by

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

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PLUTARCH (Plutarchus, *c.* A.D. 45–120, was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia in central Greece, studied philosophy at Athens, and, after coming to Rome as a teacher in philosophy, was given consular rank by the emperor Trajan and a procuratorship in Greece by Hadrian. Married and father of one daughter and four sons, he appears as a man of kindly character and independent thought. Studious and learned, he wrote on many subjects. Most popular have always been the 46 *Parallel Lives*, biographies planned to be ethical examples in pairs (in each pair one Greek person and one similar Roman), though the last four lives are single. All are invaluable sources of our knowledge of the lives and characters of Greek and Roman statesmen or soldiers or orators. Plutarch's many other varied extant works, about 60 in number, are known as 'Moral Essays' or 'Moral Works'. They are of high literary value, besides being of great use to people interested in philosophy, ethics and religion.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

VII

99

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
VII

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume are contained in the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S^g) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD), although in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M^a), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux and his editions of the *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III., Fasc. I. was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Cicero* and *Caesar* by Professor Long. And more or less use has been made of the following works: Graux, *Vie de Démosthène,* and *Vie de Cicéron,* Paris, 1883 and 1882; Holden, *Plutarch's Demosthenes,* Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1893; Gudeman, *Sources of Plutarch's Cicero,* Philadelphia, 1902; Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum,* New Haven, 1914, and *Annals of Caesar,* New York, 1911.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.
November, 1918.

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

VOLUME II.

(4) Themistocles and Camillus.

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(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
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(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
Comparison.
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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
(4) Themistocles and Camillus.
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(21) Demetrius and Antony.
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. . . .

(23) Artaxerxes.
(24) Aratus.
(25) Galba.
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DEMOSTHENES

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ὀλυμπίασιν Paris Edition, a. 1624, p. 846
ἱπποδρομίας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον,
εἴτ᾿ Εὐριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἴθ᾿
ἕτερός τις ἦν, Σόσσιε, φησὶ χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι
πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι "τὰν[1] πόλιν εὐδόκιμον·" ἐγὼ
δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι τὴν ἀληθινὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν, ἧς ἐν ἤθει καὶ διαθέσει τὸ πλεῖστόν
ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι ἀδόξου καὶ ταπεινῆς
πατρίδος ἢ μητρὸς ἀμόρφου καὶ μικρᾶς γενέσθαι.
2 γελοῖον γὰρ εἴ τις οἴοιτο τὴν Ἰουλίδα,
μέρος μικρὸν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλης νήσου τῆς Κέω,
καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν, ἣν τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις ἐκέλευεν
ὡς λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ὑποκριτὰς
μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ποιητάς, ἄνδρα δ᾿ οὐκ
ἄν ποτε δύνασθαι δίκαιον καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ νοῦν
3 ἔχοντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον προενεγκεῖν. τὰς γὰρ
ἄλλας τέχνας εἰκός ἐστι πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν
συνισταμένας ἐν ταῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπειναῖς πόλεσιν
ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, τὴν δ᾿ ἀρετήν, ὥσπερ
ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκὲς φυτόν, ἐν ἅπαντι ῥιζοῦσθαι
τόπῳ, φύσεώς τε χρηστῆς καὶ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς
ἐπιλαμβανομένην. ὅθεν οὐδ᾿ ἡμεῖς, εἴ τι τοῦ

---

[1] τὰν Sintenis^1, and Graux with M^a: τήν.

DEMOSTHENES

I. The author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia,[1] whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or some other, says, Sosius,[2] that the first requisite to a man's happiness is birth in "a famous city"; but in my opinion, for a man who would enjoy true happiness, which depends for the most part on character and disposition, it is no disadvantage to belong to an obscure and mean city, any more than it is to be born of a mother who is of little stature and without beauty. For it were laughable to suppose that Iulis, which is a little part of the small island of Ceos, and Aegina, which a certain Athenian was urgent to have removed as an eye-sore of the Piraeus,[3] should breed good actors and poets,[4] but should never be able to produce a man who is just, independent, wise, and magnanimous. The arts, indeed, since their object is to bring business or fame, naturally pine away in obscure and mean cities; but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, takes root in any place, if she finds there a generous nature and a spirit that shuns no labour. Wherefore we also, if we fail to live

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[1] See the *Alcibiades*, chapter xi.

[2] One of Plutarch's Roman friends. See the note on the *Theseus*, i. 1.

[3] See the *Pericles*, viii. 5.

[4] The great poet Simonides was of Ceos, and the great actor Polus of Aegina.

φρονεῖν ὡς δεῖ καὶ βιοῦν ἐλλείπομεν, τοῦτο τῇ σμικρότητι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῖς δικαίως ἀναθήσομεν.

II. *Τῷ μέντοι σύνταξιν ὑποβεβλημένῳ καὶ
ἱστορίαν ἐξ οὐ προχείρων οὐδ᾽ οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ
ξένων τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων ἐν
ἑτέροις συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῷ ὄντι χρὴ
πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον
καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὡς
βιβλίων τε παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχων, καὶ
ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφεύγοντα σωτηρίᾳ μνήμης
ἐπιφανεστέραν εἴληφε πίστιν ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ
καὶ διαπυνθανόμενος, μὴ πολλῶν μηδ᾽ ἀναγκαίων
2 ἐνδεὲς ἀποδιδοίη τὸ ἔργον. ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν
οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται
φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι
περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν
πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων,
ὀψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα
3 Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν. καὶ
πρᾶγμα θαυμαστὸν μέν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐπάσχομεν.
οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ πράγματα
συνιέναι καὶ γνωρίζειν συνέβαινεν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἁμῶς γέ πως εἴχομεν ἐμπειρίαν ἐπακολουθεῖν
δι᾽ αὐτὰ*[1] *καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι. κάλλους
δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τάχους αἰσθάνεσθαι
καὶ μεταφορᾶς ὀνομάτων καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων οἷς ὁ λόγος ἀγάλλεται, χάριεν μὲν ἡγού-*

---

[1] ἐμπειρίαν . . . δι᾽ αὐτὰ with M^a and Graux : ἐμπειρίας . . . διὰ ταῦτα (Bekker, ὧν . . . ἐμπειρίας).

and think as we ought, will justly attribute this, not to the smallness of our native city, but to ourselves.

II. However, when one has undertaken to compose a history based upon readings which are not readily accessible or even found at home, but in foreign countries, for the most part, and scattered about among different owners, for him it is really necessary, first and above all things, that he should live in a city which is famous, friendly to the liberal arts, and populous, in order that he may have all sorts of books in plenty, and may by hearsay and enquiry come into possession of all those details which elude writers and are preserved with more conspicuous fidelity in the memories of men. He will thus be prevented from publishing a work which is deficient in many, and even in essential things. But as for me, I live in a small city, and I prefer to dwell there that it may not become smaller still; and during the time when I was in Rome and various parts of Italy I had no leisure to practise myself in the Roman language, owing to my public duties and the number of my pupils in philosophy. It was therefore late and when I was well on in years that I began to study Roman literature. And here my experience was an astonishing thing, but true. For it was not so much that by means of words I came to a complete understanding of things, as that from things I somehow had an experience which enabled me to follow the meaning of words. But to appreciate the beauty and quickness of the Roman style, the figures of speech, the rhythm, and the other embellishments of the language, while I think it

μεθα καὶ οὐκ ἀτερπές· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μελέτη
καὶ ἄσκησις οὐκ εὐχερής, ἀλλ' οἷς τισι πλείων
τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας
ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

III. Διὸ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, 847
τῶν παραλλήλων βίων ὄντι πέμπτῳ, περὶ Δημοσθένους
καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις
πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοὺς
λόγους ἀντεξετάζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι πότερος
2 ἡδίων ἢ δεινότερος εἰπεῖν, ἐάσομεν. "Κακὴ γάρ,"
ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἴων, "ἡ δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία,"[1]
ἣν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἅπασι Κεκίλιος ἀγνοήσας ἐνεανιεύσατο
σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος
ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς
ἦν τὸ "Γνῶθι σαυτὸν" ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἂν
ἐδόκει πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι.

Δημοσθένην γὰρ καὶ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτὸν
ἔοικε πλάττων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ δαίμων πολλὰς μὲν
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων,
ὥσπερ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλελεύθερον ἐν τῇ
πολιτείᾳ, πρὸς δὲ κινδύνους καὶ πολέμους ἄτολμον,
3 πολλὰ δ' ἀναμῖξαι καὶ τῶν τυχηρῶν. δύο
γὰρ ἑτέρους οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθῆναι δοκῶ ῥήτορας ἐκ
μὲν ἀδόξων καὶ μικρῶν ἰσχυροὺς καὶ μεγάλους
γενομένους, προσκρούσαντας δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ
τυράννοις, θυγατέρας δ' ἀποβαλόντας, ἐκπεσόντας
δὲ τῆς πατρίδος, κατελθόντας δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς,

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[1] Κακὴ . . . βία an iambic trimeter (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*^{2} p. 744), restored by Reiske: Κἀκεῖ . . . Ἴων, δελφῖνος . . . βία (*for in this attempt the dolphin's might would be on dry land*).

a graceful accomplishment and one not without its pleasures, still, the careful practice necessary for attaining this is not easy for one like me, but appropriate for those who have more leisure and whose remaining years still suffice for such pursuits.

III. Therefore, in this fifth book[1] of my Parallel Lives, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another, but I shall make no critical comparison of their speeches, nor try to show which was the more agreeable or the more powerful orator. "For useless," as Ion says, "is a dolphin's might upon dry ground," a maxim which Caecilius, who goes to excess in everything, forgot when he boldly ventured to put forth a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. But really it is possible that, if the "Know thyself" of the oracle[2] were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion two other orators could not be found who, from small and obscure beginnings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who lost each a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honour; and who, after

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[1] See the note on the *Dion*, ii. 4.

[2] At Delphi.

ἀποδράντας δ' αὖθις καὶ ληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, ἅμα δὲ παυσαμένῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν
4 ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν βίον συγκαταστρέψαντας· ὥστε,
εἰ γένοιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνίταις
ἅμιλλα, χαλεπῶς ἂν διακριθῆναι πότερον
αὕτη τοῖς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς
ἄνδρας ὁμοιοτέρους ἀπείργασται. λεκτέον δὲ
περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

IV. Δημοσθένης ὁ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν
τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς ἐργαστήριον
ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς
τοῦτο πράττοντας. ἃ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἴρηκε
περὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ
προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἄστεος γεγόνοι καὶ βαρβάρου
γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ' ἀληθῶς
εἴρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος.
2 ἀπολειφθεὶς δ' ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἑπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ (μικρὸν γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν ἡ
σύμπασα τίμησις αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας πεντεκαίδεκα
ταλάντων) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἠδικήθη, τὰ μὲν
νοσφισαμένων, τὰ δ' ἀμελησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
3 διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερῆσαι. διά
τε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ
παιδὶ μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι
καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν καὶ θρύψιν,
οὐ προϊεμένης τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ
προσβιαζομένων τῶν παιδαγωγῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ νοσώδης, καὶ τὴν λοιδορου-

taking to flight again and being captured by their enemies, ended their lives as soon as their countrymen ceased to be free. So that, if there should be a competition between nature and fortune, as between artists, it would be difficult to decide whether the one made the men more alike in their characters, or the other in the circumstances of their lives. But I must speak of the more ancient first.

IV. Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theopompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes,[1] namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon, who was banished from the city on a charge of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demosthenes was left by his father in affluence, since the total value of his estate fell little short of fifteen talents;[2] but he was wronged by his guardians, who appropriated some of his property to their own uses and neglected the rest, so that even his teachers were deprived of their pay. It was for this reason, as it seems, that he did not pursue the studies which were suitable and proper for a well-born boy, and also because of his bodily weakness and fragility, since his mother would not permit him to work hard in the palaestra, and his tutors would not force him to do so. For from the first he was lean and sickly, and his

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[1] *On the Crown*, §§ 171 f.

[2] A talent was equivalent to about £235, or $1,200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

μένην ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν Βάταλον, εἰς τὸ σῶμα
λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων λαβεῖν.
4 ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, αὐλητὴς
τῶν κατεαγότων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῳδῶν
αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι δέ τινες
ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροίνια γράφοντος
τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηνται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ
εὐπρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ
5 τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλος. ὁ δ'
Ἀργᾶς (καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει
γενέσθαι παρώνυμον) ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὡς
θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι
τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν ὀνομάζουσιν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν
λόγον, ὡς ἀνιῶντα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους· καὶ γὰρ
Αργας τοὔνομα ποιητὴς ἦν νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ
ἀργαλέων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ.[1]

V. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ
φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος
ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν ἐν 848
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέλλοντος ἦν προσδοκία τῆς δίκης
μεγάλη διά τε τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν, ἀνθοῦντος
τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν οὖσαν
2 περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν
διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων
τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἔπεισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν
δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος ὅπως αὐτὸν

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[1] After these words Bekker retains the κατὰ Πλάτωνα which Coraës, Sintenis, and Graux, after Wyttenbach, reject as a gloss. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 220, c.

opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique. Now Batalus, as some say, was an effeminate flute-player, and Antiphanes wrote a farce in which he held him up to ridicule for this. But some speak of Batalus as a poet who wrote voluptuous verses and drinking songs. And it appears that one of the parts of the body which it is not decent to name was at that time called Batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Argas (for they tell us that Demosthenes had this nickname also) was given him either with reference to his manners, which were harsh and savage, the snake being called "argas" by some of the poets; or with reference to his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs. So much on this head.

V. The origin of his eager desire to be an orator, they tell us, was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court on the question of Oropus,[1] and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case, which was notorious. Accordingly, when Demosthenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to

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[1] In 366 B.C. Oropus, a town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, was wrested from Athens by the Thebans. Subsequently there was a trial for treason at Athens, in which Callistratus the orator and Chabrias the general figured, but the details of the trial are obscure.

ἀγάγοι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δ' ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς
ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίους συνήθειαν,
εὐπόρησε χώρας ἐν ᾗ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδήλως
3 ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων. εὐημερήσαντος δὲ
τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφυῶς,
ἐκείνου μὲν ἐζήλωσε τὴν δόξαν, ὁρῶν προπεμπόμενον
ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μακαριζόμενον, τοῦ
δὲ λόγου μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατενόησε τὴν
ἰσχὺν ὡς πάντα[1] χειροῦσθαι καὶ τιθασεύειν
πεφυκότος. ὅθεν ἐάσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ
τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβάς, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἤσκει καὶ
διεπόνει ταῖς μελέταις, ὡς ἂν τῶν λεγόντων
4 ἐσόμενος καὶ αὐτός. ἐχρήσατο δὲ Ἰσαίῳ πρὸς
τὸν λόγον ὑφηγητῇ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους τότε
σχολάζοντος, εἴτε, ὥς τινες λέγουσι, τὸν ὡρισμένον
μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσαι μὴ δυνάμενος, τὰς
δέκα μνᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε μᾶλλον τοῦ
Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ πανοῦργον
5 ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν ἀποδεχόμενος. Ἕρμιππος
δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν ἐν
οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι
Πλάτωνι καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφελῆσθαι,
Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται λέγοντος παρὰ
Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καί τινων ἄλλων τὰς
Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα
λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένην καταμαθεῖν.

VI. Ὡς γοῦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις
ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ'

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[1] ὡς πάντα Graux with M^a: πάντα.

take him to the hearing. This tutor, having an acquaintance with the public officials who opened the courts, succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly admired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted on his way by the multitude and congratulated by all; but he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory, which was naturally adapted to subdue and master all opposition. Wherefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practised himself laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he too was to be an orator. He also employed Isaeus as his guide to the art of speaking, although Isocrates was lecturing at the time; either, as some say, because he was an orphan and unable to pay Isocrates his stipulated fee of ten minas,[1] or because he preferred the style of Isaeus for its effectiveness and adaptability in actual use. But Hermippus says that he once came upon some anonymous memoirs in which it was recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato and got most help from him in his rhetorical studies. He also quotes Ctesibius as saying that from Callias the Syracusan and certain others Demosthenes secretly obtained the rhetorical systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas and mastered them.

VI. However this may be, when Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians and to write speeches attacking them.

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[1] Equivalent to about £40, or $200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

αὐτοὺς πολλὰς διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας εὑρίσκοντας, ἐγγυμνασάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ταῖς μελέταις οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀργῶς, κατευτυχήσας ἐκπρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ἠδυνήθη μέρος τῶν πατρῴων, τόλμαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ συνήθειαν ἱκανὴν λαβὼν καὶ γευσάμενος τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπεχείρησεν εἰς μέσον παριέναι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν. 2 καὶ καθάπερ Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ὀρχομένιον λέγουσι καχεξίαν τινὰ σπληνὸς ἀμυνόμενον δρόμοις μακροῖς χρῆσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν κελευσάντων, εἶθ' οὕτως διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἕξιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων, οὕτως τῷ Δημοσθένει συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποδύντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τούτου κτησαμένῳ δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἤδη καθάπερ στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων πολιτῶν.

3 Καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελᾶτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἦν δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διασπᾶσθαι τὰς περιόδους. 4 τέλος δ' ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἐν Πει-

They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says,[1] not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient practice and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and therefore essayed to come forward and engage in public matters. And just as Laomedon the Orchomenian—so we are told—practised long-distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and then, after restoring his health in this way, entered the great games and became one of the best runners of the long course, so Demosthenes, after applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business, as it were in the great games, won the first place among the citizens who strove with one another on the bema.

And yet when he first addressed the people he was interrupted by their clamours and laughed at for his inexperience, since his discourse seemed to them confused by long periods and too harshly and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. And finally, when he had forsaken the assembly and was wandering about

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[1] *Καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι* (i. 18, 3 of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians).

ραιεῖ δι' ἀθυμίαν Εὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πάνυ
γέρων θεασάμενος ἐπετίμησεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον
ἔχων ὁμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους προδίδωσιν ὑπ'
ἀτολμίας καὶ μαλακίας ἑαυτόν, οὔτε τοὺς ὄχλους
ὑφιστάμενος εὐθαρσῶς, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα πρὸς
τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξαρτυόμενος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῇ περιορῶν
μαραινόμενον.

VII. Πάλιν δέ ποτέ φασιν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἀπιόντος οἴκαδε συγκεχυμένου[1] καὶ βαρέως 849
φέροντος ἐπακολουθῆσαι Σάτυρον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν
ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα καὶ συνελθεῖν. ὀδυρομένου δὲ
τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι πάντων φιλοπονώτατος
ὢν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ μικροῦ δέων
καταναλωκέναι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμὴν εἰς τοῦτο
χάριν οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ κραιπαλῶντες
ἄνθρωποι ναῦται καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἀκούονται καὶ
2 κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα, παρορᾶται δ' αὐτός, "Ἀληθῆ
λέγεις, ὦ Δημόσθενες," φάναι τὸν Σάτυρον, "ἀλλ'
ἐγὼ τὸ αἴτιον ἰάσομαι ταχέως, ἄν μοι τῶν Εὐριπίδου
τινὰ ῥήσεων ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἐθελήσῃς εἰπεῖν
ἀπὸ στόματος." εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους
μεταλαβόντα τὸν Σάτυρον οὕτω πλάσαι καὶ
διεξελθεῖν ἐν ἤθει πρέποντι καὶ διαθέσει τὴν
αὐτὴν ῥῆσιν ὥσθ' ὅλως ἑτέραν τῷ Δημοσθένει
φανῆναι. πεισθέντα δ' ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως
τῷ λόγῳ κόσμου καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι, μικρὸν
ἡγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀμελοῦντι
τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ διαθέσεως τῶν λεγομένων.
3 ἐκ τούτου κατάγειον μὲν οἰκοδομῆσαι

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[1] συγκεχυμένου Graux with M^{a}: συγκεκαλυμμένου (*with muffled head*).

dejectedly in the Piraeus, Eunomus the Thriasian, who was already a very old man, caught sight of him and upbraided him because, although he had a style of speaking which was most like that of Pericles, he was throwing himself away out of weakness and lack of courage, neither facing the multitude with boldness, nor preparing his body for these forensic contests, but suffering it to wither away in slothful neglect.

VII. At another time, too, they say, when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going off homewards disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a familiar acquaintance of his, followed after and went indoors with him. Demosthenes lamented to him that although he was the most laborious of all the orators and had almost used up the vigour of his body in this calling, he had no favour with the people, but debauchees, sailors, and illiterate fellows were listened to and held the bema, while he himself was ignored. "You are right, Demosthenes," said Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will consent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles." Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another. Persuaded, now, how much of ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use for a man to practise declaiming if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean

μελετητήριον, ὃ δὴ διεσώζετο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μὲν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας κατιόντα πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μῆνας ἑξῆς δύο καὶ τρεῖς συνάπτειν, ξυρούμενον τῆς κεφαλῆς θάτερον μέρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένῳ πάνυ προελθεῖν ἐνδέχεσθαι δι' αἰσχύνην.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς
ἐντεύξεις καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑποθέσεις
ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀφορμὰς τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. ἀπαλ-
λαγεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν τάχιστα κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ
μελετητήριον, καὶ διεξῄει τάς τε πράξεις ἐφεξῆς
2 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογισμούς. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς
λόγους οἷς παρέτυχε λεγομένοις, ἀναλαμβάνων
εἰς ἑαυτὸν εἰς γνώμας ἀνῆγε καὶ περιόδους, ἐπαν-
ορθώσεις τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ μεταφράσεις ἐκαινο-
τόμει τῶν εἰρημένων ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ
ὑφ' αὑτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλον. ἐκ τούτου δόξαν
εἶχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυὴς ὤν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκει-
3 μένῃ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει τε
τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι μέγα τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀκοῦσαί
τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου
καλοῦντος ὀνομαστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι
πεφροντικὼς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο
δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον
αὐτόν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφη-

study, which, in fact, was preserved in our time,[1] and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad even though he greatly wished to do so.

VIII. Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside, the foundation and starting point for eager toil. For as soon as he parted from his associates, he would go down into his study, and there would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defence of each course. And still further, whatever speeches he chanced to hear delivered he would take up by himself and reduce to propositions and periods, and he would introduce all sorts of corrections and changes of expression into the speeches made by others against himself, or, contrariwise, by himself against others. Consequently it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil. And there would seem to be strong proof of this in the fact that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoffingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-

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[1] An erroneous tradition identifies this with the choragic monument of Lysicrates (the "Lantern of Demosthenes").

4 σεν ὄζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν
ἠμείψατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης· "Οὐ ταὐτὰ
γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ὦ Πυθέα, ὁ λύχνος
σύνοιδε." πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ παντάπασιν
ἦν ἔξαρνος, ἀλλ' οὔτε γράψας οὔτ' ἄγραφα
κομιδῇ λέγειν ὡμολόγει. καὶ μέντοι δημοτικὸν
ἀπέφαινεν ἄνδρα τὸν λέγειν μελετῶντα· θερα-
πείας γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο δήμου παρασκευήν, τὸ δ'
ὅπως ἕξουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀφρον-
τιστεῖν ὀλιγαρχικοῦ καὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ
5 προσέχοντος. τῆς δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀτολμίας αὐτοῦ
καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι Δημάδης μὲν
ἐκείνῳ θορυβηθέντι πολλάκις ἀναστὰς ἐκ προ-
χείρου συνεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος δ' οὐδέποτε Δημάδῃ.

IX. Πόθεν οὖν, φαίη τις ἄν, ὁ Αἰσχίνης πρὸς
τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατον ἀπε-
κάλει τὸν ἄνδρα; πῶς δὲ Πύθωνι τῷ Βυζαντίῳ
θρασυνομένῳ καὶ ῥέοντι πολλῷ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀναστὰς μόνος ἀντεῖπεν, ἢ Λαμάχου τοῦ
Μυριναίου γεγραφότος ἐγκώμιον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
Φιλίππου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ Θηβαίους
2 καὶ Ὀλυνθίους εἰρήκει κακῶς, καὶ ἀναγινώσκον-
τος Ὀλυμπίασι, παραστὰς καὶ διεξελθὼν μεθ' 8
ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως ὅσα Θηβαίοις καὶ Χαλ-
κιδεῦσιν ὑπάρχει καλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ

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[1] See Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 152.

wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. "Indeed," said he, "thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits." To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendered such a service to Demades.

IX. How, then, some one might say, could Aeschines call him a man of the most astonishing boldness in his speeches?[1] And how was it that, when Python of Byzantium[2] was inveighing with much boldness and a great torrent of words against the Athenians, Demosthenes alone rose up and spoke against him? Or how did it happen that, when Lamachus the Myrinaean had written an encomium on Kings Philip and Alexander, in which many injurious things were said of Thebes and Olynthus, and while he was reading it aloud at Olympia,[3] Demosthenes came forward and rehearsed with historical proofs all the benefits which the peoples of Thebes and Chalcidice had conferred upon Greece, and, on the other

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[2] An envoy of Philip to the Athenian assembly, in 343 B.C. See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, § 136. [3] In 324 B.C.

πάλιν ὅσων αἴτιοι γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας ὥστε δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδῦναι τῆς πανηγύρεως;

3 Ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλου γεγονότος, ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἑκὼν εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν. 4 ἐπεὶ τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἶχον, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης μέν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκεῖνον ὅρκον ὀμόσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα·

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα.

5 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μέν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωποπερπερήθραν, ὁ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

A. ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν.
B. ἠγάπησεν ἂν
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

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[1] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 128. From Plutarch's *Morals*, p. 845 b, it is to be inferred rather that this was a verse of Antiphanes ridiculing the perfervid manner of Demosthenes. [2] Kock, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 461.

hand, all the evils of which the flatterers of the Macedonians had been the cause, and thereby so turned the minds of the audience that the sophist was terrified at the outcry against him and slunk away from the festival assemblage?

But although Demosthenes, as it would appear, did not regard the other characteristics of Pericles as suitable for himself, he admired and sought to imitate the formality of his speech and bearing, as well as his refusal to speak suddenly or on every subject that might present itself, as if his greatness was due to these things; but he by no means sought the reputation which is won in a sudden emergency, nor did he often of his own free will stake his influence upon chance. However, those orations which were spoken off-hand by him had more courage and boldness than those which he wrote out, if we are to put any confidence in Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets. Of these, Eratosthenes says that often in his speeches Demosthenes was like one frenzied, and the Phalerean says that once, as if under inspiration, he swore the famous metrical oath to the people:—

"By earth, by springs, by rivers, and by streams."[1]

Of the comic poets, one calls him a "rhopoperperethras," or *trumpery-braggart*,[2] and another, ridiculing his use of the antithesis, says this:—

(First slave) "My master, as he took, retook."
(Second slave (?)) "Demosthenes would have been
delighted to take over this phrase." [3]

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[3] Kock, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 80. A verse precedes which may be translated: "My master, on receiving all his patrimony," and the point apparently is that the heir took what was a gift as his rightful due.

ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἁλοννήσου λόγον ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τουτὶ πέπαιχεν, ἣν Ἀθηναίοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

X. Πλὴν τόν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὡμολόγουν
τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι, καὶ παραφέρειν
αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις
καὶ παρασκευάς. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεο-
φράστου τινὰ δόξαν ἱστόρηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων.
ἐρωτηθέντα γὰρ ὁποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ
ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἰπεῖν· "Ἄξιος τῆς πόλεως·"
2 ὁποῖος δὲ Δημάδης, "Ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν." ὁ δ'
αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πολύευκτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σφήτ-
τιον, ἕνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθήνησιν,
ἀποφαίνεσθαι μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα Δημο-
σθένην, δυνατώτατον δὲ εἰπεῖν Φωκίωνα· πλεῖ-
στον γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῃ λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φασὶν αὐτόν, ὁσάκις
ἂν[1] ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ Φωκίων ἀναβαίνοι, λέγειν
πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις· "Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς
3 ἀνίσταται." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἄδηλον εἴτε πρὸς τὸν
λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴτε πρὸς τὸν
βίον καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπεπόνθει, πολλῶν πάνυ καὶ
μακρῶν περιόδων ἓν ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν
ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος.

XI. Τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπῆγεν ἄσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστο-

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[1] ἂν omitted by Bekker, after Coraës and Schaefer; also by Graux with M^a.

Unless, indeed, this, too, was a jest of Antiphanes upon the speech of Demosthenes concerning Halonnesus,[1] in which the orator counselled the Athenians not to take the island from Philip, but to retake it.

X. Still, all men used to agree that Demades, in the exercise of his natural gifts, was invincible, and that when he spoke on the spur of the moment he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes. And Ariston the Chian records an opinion which Theophrastus also passed upon the two orators. When he was asked, namely, what sort of an orator he thought Demosthenes was, he replied: "Worthy of the city"; and what Demades, "Too good for the city." And the same philosopher tells us that Polyeuctus the Sphettian, one of the political leaders of that time at Athens, declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most influential speaker; since he expressed most sense in fewest words. Indeed, we are told that even Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion mounted the bema to reply to him, would say to his intimates: "Here comes the chopper of my speeches." Now, it is not clear whether Demosthenes had this feeling towards Phocion because of his oratory, or because of his life and reputation, believing that a single word or nod from a man who is trusted has more power than very many long periods.

XI. For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises which I shall describe, as Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, who says he heard about them from

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[1] *Or.* vii., wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is in § 5 a phrase similar to the one under comment.

ρεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκούειν πρεσβύτου
γεγονότος, τὴν μὲν ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα
τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ
στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ῥήσεις ἅμα λέγοντα,
2 τὴν δὲ φωνὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι
καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμὰ προσβάσεσι διαλεγόμενον
καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἅμα τῷ πνεύματι
πυκνουμένῳ προφερόμενον· εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα
κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἐξ
ἐναντίας ἱστάμενον περαίνειν.

Λέγεται δέ, ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος δεομένου
συνηγορίας καὶ διεξιόντος ὡς ὑπό του λάβοι
πληγάς, "Ἀλλὰ σύ γε," φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην,
3 "τούτων ὧν λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας." ἐπιτείναντος
δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοῶντος
"Ἐγώ, Δημόσθενες, οὐδὲν πέπονθα;" "Νὴ Δία,"
φάναι, "νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πεπονθότος."
οὕτως ᾤετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι
τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς
μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, 851
οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς
αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος
4 ὁ Φαληρεύς ἐστιν. Αἰσίωνα δέ φησιν Ἕρμιππος,
ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν
καθ' αὑτόν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν
ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ
δήμῳ διαλεγομένους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημοσθένους
λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει
διαφέρουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων

Demosthenes himself, now grown old. The indistinctness and lisping[1] in his speech he used to correct and drive away by taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large looking-glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises in declamation.

A story is told of a man coming to him and begging his services as advocate, and telling at great length how he had been assaulted and beaten by some one. "But certainly," said Demosthenes, "you got none of the hurts which you describe." Then the man raised his voice and shouted: "I, Demosthenes, no hurts?" "Now, indeed," said Demosthenes, "I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt." So important in winning credence did he consider the tone and action of the speaker. Accordingly, his own action in speaking was astonishingly pleasing to most men, but men of refinement, like Demetrius the Phalerian, thought his manner low, ignoble, and weak. And Hermippus tells us that Aesion,[2] when asked his opinion of the ancient orators as compared with those of his own time, said that one would have listened with admiration when the older orators discoursed to the people decorously and in the grand manner, but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when read aloud, were far superior in point of arrangement and power. Now, it is needless to remark that

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[1] Strictly, an inability to pronounce the letter "r," giving instead the sound of "l." See the *Alcibiades*, i. 4.

[2] A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ὅτι τὸ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσι, τί ἂν
λέγοι τις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι ταῖς παρὰ τὸν
5 καιρὸν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τῷ γελοίῳ. Δημάδου μὲν γὰρ
εἰπόντος "Ἐμὲ Δημοσθένης, ἡ ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν,"
"Αὕτη," εἶπεν, "ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πρώην ἐν Κολλυτῷ
μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη." πρὸς δὲ τὸν κλέπτην ὃς
ἐπεκαλεῖτο Χαλκοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀγρυπνίας
αὐτοῦ καὶ νυκτογραφίας πειρώμενόν τι
λέγειν, "Οἶδα," εἶπεν, "ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον
6 καίων. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θαυμάζετε
τὰς γινομένας κλοπάς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν
κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους
ἔχωμεν." ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων καίπερ ἔτι πλείω
λέγειν ἔχοντες ἐνταῦθα παυσόμεθα· τὸν δ' ἄλλον
αὐτοῦ τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας θεωρεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν.

XII. Ὥρμησε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ
κοινὰ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, ὡς
αὐτός τέ φησι καὶ λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν
δημηγοριῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη διαπεπραγμένων
ἐκείνων γεγόνασιν, αἱ δὲ πρεσβύταται τῶν
ἔγγιστα πραγμάτων ἅπτονται. δῆλος δ' ἐστὶ
καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν
δίκην δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη,
μηδέπω δ' ἔχων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μηδὲ δόξαν.
2 ὃ καὶ μάλιστά μοι δοκεῖ δείσας ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ
καταθέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχθραν·

οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ' ἀγανόφρων,

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[1] 357–346 B.C. [2] *On the Crown*, § 18.

[3] About 350 B.C. The speech "Against Meidias" (*Or.* xxi.) was never delivered. See § 154.

his written speeches have much in them that is harsh and bitter; but in his extempore rejoinders he was also humorous. For instance, when Demades said: "Demosthenes teach me! As well might the sow teach Athena." "It was this Athena," said Demosthenes, "that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus." And to the thief nicknamed Brazen, who attempted to make fun of him for his late hours and his writing at night, "I know," he said, "that I annoy you with my lighted lamp. But you, men of Athens, must not wonder at the thefts that are committed, when we have thieves of brass, but house-walls of clay." However, though I have still more to say on this head, I shall stop here; the other traits of his character, and his disposition, should be surveyed in connection with his achievements as a statesman.

XII. Well, then, he set out to engage in public matters after the Phocian war[1] had broken out, as he himself says,[2] and as it is possible to gather from his Philippic harangues. For some of these were made after the Phocian war was already ended, and the earliest of them touch upon affairs which were closely connected with it. And it is clear that when he prepared himself to speak in the prosecution of Meidias[3] he was thirty-two years old, but had as yet no power or reputation in the conduct of the city's affairs. And his fears on this score were the chief reason, in my opinion, why he compromised his case against the man he hated for a sum of money;

"For he was not at all a sweet-tempered man or
of gentle mood,"[4]

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[4] *Iliad*, xx. 467, of Achilles.

ἀλλ᾽ ἔντονος καὶ βίαιος περὶ τὰς ἀμύνας. ὁρῶν
δ᾽ οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τῆς αὑτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργον
ἄνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φίλοις εὖ πεφραγμένον
καθελεῖν, τὸν Μειδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοῖς
3 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένοις. αἱ δὲ τρισχίλιαι καθ᾽
ἑαυτὰς οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους
ἀμβλῦναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυναμένου
περιγενέσθαι.

Λαβὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν
πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δικαιολογίαν,
καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀξίως, ταχὺ δόξαν
ἔσχε καὶ περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἤρθη καὶ
τῆς παρρησίας, ὥστε θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι,
θεραπεύεσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως,
4 πλεῖστον δ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ
τῶν δημαγωγούντων, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους
ὅτι πρὸς ἔνδοξον αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον
ὁ ἀγών ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ὑπερείδης
τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντες εἰρήκασιν.

XIII. Ὅθεν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως παρέστη Θεοπόμπῳ
λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ
μήτε πράγμασι μήτ᾽ ἀνθρώποις πολὺν χρόνον
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενον. φαίνεται γάρ,
εἰς ἣν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μερίδα καὶ
τάξιν αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέστησε, ταύτην
ἄχρι τέλους διαφυλάξας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ βίῳ
μὴ μεταβαλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
2 μεταβαλέσθαι προέμενος. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Δημάδης
ἀπολογούμενος διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὴν
ἔλεγεν, αὑτῷ μὲν αὐτὸν τἀναντία πολλάκις εἰρηκέναι,
τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδέποτε, καὶ Μελάνωπος

but vehement and violent in his requitals. However, seeing that it was no mean task and one beyond his power to overthrow a man like Meidias, who was well hedged about with wealth, oratory and friends, he yielded to those who interceded in his behalf. For it does not seem to me that the three thousand drachmas of themselves could have dulled the bitter feelings of Demosthenes if he had expected or felt able to triumph over his adversary.

But when he had once taken as a noble basis for his political activity the defence of the Greeks against Philip, and was contending worthily here, he quickly won a reputation and was lifted into a conspicuous place by the boldness of his speeches, so that he was admired in Greece, and treated with deference by the Great King; Philip, too, made more account of him than of any other popular leader at Athens, and it was admitted even by those who hated him that they had to contend with a man of mark. For both Aeschines and Hypereides say thus much for him while denouncing him.

XIII. Wherefore I do not know how it occurred to Theopompus to say that Demosthenes was unstable in his character and unable to remain true for any length of time to the same policies or the same men. For it is apparent that after he had at the outset adopted a party and a line of policy in the conduct of the city's affairs, he maintained this to the end, and not only did not change his position while he lived, but actually gave up his life that he might not change it. For he was not like Demades, who apologised for his change of policy by saying that he often spoke at variance with himself, but never at variance with the interests of the

ἀντιπολιτευόμενος Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις 852 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· "Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ
3 τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον," Νικόδημος δ' ὁ Μεσσήνιος Κασάνδρῳ προστιθέμενος πρότερον, εἶτ' αὖθις ὑπὲρ Δημητρίου πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἔφη τἀναντία λέγειν, ἀεὶ γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν κρατούντων, οὕτω καὶ περὶ Δημοσθένους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν οἷον ἐκτρεπομένου καὶ πλαγιάζοντος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου διαγράμματος τῆς πολιτείας ἕνα τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀεὶ
4 διετέλεσε. Παναίτιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτω γεγράφθαι τοὺς πλείστους ὡς μόνου τοῦ καλοῦ δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετοῦ ὄντος, τὸν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, τοὺς Φιλιππικούς· ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἥδιστον ἢ ῥᾷστον ἢ λυσιτελέστατον ἄγει τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἴεται δεῖν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος, ὡς, εἴγε τῇ περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων εὐγενείᾳ παρῆν ἀνδρεία τε πολεμιστήριος καὶ τὸ καθαρῶς ἕκαστα πράττειν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοιροκλέα καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Ὑπερείδην ἀριθμῷ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἀλλ' ἄνω μετὰ Κίμωνος καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους ἄξιος ἦν τίθεσθαι.

city; nor like Melanopus, who, though opposed politically to Callistratus, was often bought over by him, and then would say to the people: "The man is my enemy, it is true, but the interests of the city shall prevail"; nor like Nicodemus the Messenian, who first attached himself to Cassander, and then again advocated the interests of Demetrius, but said that he was not contradicting himself, for it was always advantageous to listen to one's masters. We cannot say such things of Demosthenes also, as of one who is turned from his course and veers to and fro either in word or deed—nay, he followed one unchangeable scale, as it were, and ever held to one key in politics. And Panaetius the philosopher says that most of his speeches also are written in the conviction that the good alone is to be chosen for its own sake, as, for instance, the speech "On the Crown,"[1] the one "Against Aristocrates,"[2] that "For the Immunities,"[3] and the Philippics;[4] for in all these he does not try to lead his countrymen to do what is pleasantest or easiest or most profitable, but in many places thinks they ought to make their safety and preservation secondary to what is honourable and fitting, so that, if the loftiness of his principles and the nobility of his speeches had been accompanied by such bravery as becomes a warrior and by incorruptibility in all his dealings, he would have been worthy to be numbered, not with such orators as Moerocles, Polyeuctus, Hypereides, and their contemporaries, but high up with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

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[1] *Or.* xviii. [2] *Or.* xxiii.
[3] *Or.* xx. (*Against Leptines*).
[4] *Ors.* iv., vi., ix.

XIV. Τῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης
προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν
μακεδονίζειν, ὅμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ χείρων ἔδοξεν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀριστείδου
2 καὶ Κίμωνος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι. Δημοσθένης
δ' οὐκ ὢν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξιόπιστος, ὥς φησιν ὁ
Δημήτριος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν
ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου
καὶ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος ὤν, τῷ δ' ἄνωθεν ἐκ
Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίῳ γεγονὼς
καὶ κατακεκλυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἱκανώτατος
ἦν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δὲ οὐχ
ὅμοιος. ἐπεὶ τούς γε καθ' αὐτὸν ῥήτορας (ἔξω δὲ
λόγου τίθεμαι Φωκίωνα) καὶ τῷ βίῳ παρῆλθε.
3 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας μάλιστα τῷ
δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν
πολλῶν ἀντιτείνων καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν
ἐπιφυόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν λόγων λαβεῖν ἔστιν.
ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὅτι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπί
τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ
ὑπήκουε, θορυβούντων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· "Ὑμεῖς
ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μέν, κἂν μὴ
θέλητε, χρήσεσθε· συκοφάντῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἂν θέλητε."
4 σφόδρα δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα καὶ
τὸ περὶ Ἀντιφῶντος· ὃν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἀφεθέντα συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

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[1] Theopompus almost always displays hostility to Athens and her popular leaders.

XIV. At any rate, Phocion, among his contemporaries, though he took the lead in a policy which is not to be commended, and though he had the reputation of favouring Macedonia, nevertheless, by reason of his bravery and integrity, was held to be in no wise inferior to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon. Demosthenes, however, was not worthy of confidence when he bore arms, as Demetrius says, nor was he altogether inaccessible to bribes, but though he did not succumb to the gold which came from Philip and Macedonia, that which came down in streams from Susa and Ecbatana reached and overwhelmed him, and therefore while he was most capable of praising the virtues of earlier generations, he was not so good at imitating them. For certainly the orators of his own day (though I leave Phocion out of the account) were surpassed by him even in his life and conversation. And it is manifest that beyond them all he reasoned boldly with the people, opposed himself to the desires of the multitude, and persistently attacked their faults, as may be gathered from his speeches. And even Theopompus[1] tells us that, when the Athenians nominated him to conduct a certain impeachment, and, on his refusal, raised a tumult against him, he rose and said: "Men of Athens, I will serve you as a counsellor, even though you do not wish it; but not as a false accuser, even though you wish it." Moreover, the measures which he took in the case of Antiphon[2] were exceedingly aristocratic in their spirit. Antiphon had been acquitted by the assembly, but Demosthenes arrested him and brought him before the council of the Areio-

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[2] See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 132 f.

βουλὴν ἀνήγαγε, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ θέμενος ἤλεγξεν ὑπεσχημένον Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν· καὶ παραδοθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε. κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱερείας Θεωρίδος ὡς ἄλλα τε ῥᾳδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐξαπατᾶν διδασκούσης· καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε.

XV. *Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ* Τιμοθέου *τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος* Ἀπολλόδωρος *εἷλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος,* Δημοσθένης *γράψαι τῷ* Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, *καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς* Φορμίωνα *καὶ* Στέφανον, *ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἠδόξησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ* Φορμίων *ἠγωνίζετο λόγῳ* Δημοσθένους *πρὸς τὸν* Ἀπολλόδωρον, *ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια*
2 *πωλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδικοις. τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁ μὲν κατ'* Ἀνδροτίωνος *καὶ* Τιμοκράτους *καὶ* Ἀριστοκράτους *ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὔπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος· δοκεῖ γὰρ δυεῖν ἢ* 853
τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους· τὸν δὲ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος *αὐτὸς ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, διὰ τὸν* Χαβρίου *παῖδα* Κτήσιππον, *ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου*
3 *μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔγημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ* Σαμίᾳ

pagus, and making no account of the offence thus given to the people, convicted him of having promised Philip to set fire to the dockyards; and Antiphon was given up to justice by the council and suffered death. He also accused the priestess Theoris of many misdemeanours, and particularly of teaching the slaves to practise deceit; and by fixing the penalty at death he brought about her execution.

XV. It is said, too, that the speech which Apollodorus used in order to secure the conviction of Timotheus the general in an action for debt was written for him by Demosthenes, and likewise the speeches which Apollodorus used against Phormio and Stephanus, in which cases Demosthenes properly won discredit. For Phormio contended against Apollodorus with a speech which Demosthenes had written for him,[1] the orator thus simply selling to the disputants, as it were from one and the same cutlery-shop,[2] the knives with which to wound each other. Moreover, of his public orations, those against Androtion[3] and Timocrates[4] and Aristocrates[5] were written for others to pronounce, before he had as yet entered public life; for it appears that these speeches were produced when he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. But he himself delivered the speech against Aristogeiton,[6] as well as the one "On the Immunities,"[7] at the instance, as he himself says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but as some say, because he was wooing the mother of this young man. However, he did not marry this woman, but had a certain woman of Samos

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[1] *Or.* xxxvi.
[2] See chapter iv. 1.
[3] *Or.* xxii.
[4] *Or.* xxiv.
[5] *Or.* xxiii.
[6] *Or.* xxv.
[7] *Or.* xx.

τινὶ συνῴκησεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἄδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔοικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τἀληθές, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς περὶ στεφάνου γεγραμμένοις ἑκατέρων λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι. μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὡς ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἕτεροι διακρινοῦσι μᾶλλον.

XVI. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερὰ μὲν ἦν ἔτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲν ἐῶντος ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ταράττοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτε πρεσβεύων δέκατος ἧκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἤκουσε μὲν πάντων Φίλιππος, ἀντεῖπε δὲ μετὰ
2 πλείστης ἐπιμελείας πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον. οὐ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ὅμοιον αὐτὸν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ προσήγετο τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην μᾶλλον. ὅθεν ἐπαινούντων ἐκείνων τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς καὶ λέγειν δυνατώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι καὶ νὴ Δία συμπιεῖν ἱκανώτατον, ἠναγκάζετο βασκαίνων ἐπισκώπτειν ὡς τὸ μὲν σοφιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ σπογγιᾶς εἴη, βασιλέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον.

to wife, as Demetrius the Magnesian tells us in his work "On Persons of the Same Name." Whether the speech denouncing the treacherous embassage of Aeschines[1] was delivered or not, is uncertain; and yet Idomeneus says that Aeschines got off by only thirty votes. But this would seem to be untrue, if we are to judge by the written speeches of both orators "On the Crown."[2] For neither of them speaks clearly and distinctly of that contention as one which came to trial. This question, however, will have to be decided by others.

XVI. The political attitude of Demosthenes was manifest even while peace still lasted, for he would let no act of the Macedonian pass uncensured, but on every occasion kept rousing and inflaming the Athenians against him. Therefore Philip also made most account of him; and when Demosthenes came to Macedonia in an embassy of ten,[3] Philip listened indeed to them all, but took most pains to answer his speech. As regards all other marks of honour and kindly attention, however, Philip did not treat Demosthenes as well as the others, but courted rather the party of Aeschines and Philocrates. And so when these lauded Philip as most powerful in speaking, most fair to look upon, and, indeed, as a most capable fellow-drinker, Demosthenes had to say in bitter raillery that the first encomium was appropriate for a sophist, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge, but none of them for a king.

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[1] *Or.* xix.

[2] See the second note on xxiv. 1 f.

[3] In 346 B.C. they obtained the so-called Peace of Philocrates.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔρρεπε τὰ
πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν Φιλίππου μὴ δυναμένου τὴν
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐγειρομένων
ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Εὔβοιαν
ἐξώρμησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταδεδουλωμένην ὑπὸ
τῶν τυράννων Φιλίππῳ· καὶ διαβάντες, ἐκείνου
τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἐξήλασαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας.
2 δεύτερον δὲ Βυζαντίοις ἐβοήθησε καὶ
Περινθίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πολεμουμένοις,
πείσας τὸν δῆμον ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ
μεμνῆσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν ἡμαρτημένων
ἑκατέροις πόλεμον ἀποστεῖλαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς,
3 ὑφ' ἧς ἐσώθησαν. ἔπειτα πρεσβεύων καὶ διαλεγόμενος
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παροξύνων συνέστησε
πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὥστε
σύνταξιν γενέσθαι πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων,
ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν
δυνάμεων, χρήματα δὲ καὶ μισθοὺς τοῖς
ξένοις εἰσφέρεσθαι προθύμως. ὅτε καί φησι
Θεόφραστος, ἀξιούντων τῶν συμμάχων ὁρισθῆναι
τὰς εἰσφοράς, εἰπεῖν Κρωβύλον τὸν δημαγωγὸν
ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος.

4 Ἐπηρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον
καὶ συνισταμένων κατ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις Εὐβοέων,
Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Μεγαρέων, Λευκαδίων, Κερκυραίων,
ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει
τῶν ἀγώνων, Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμ-

XVII. And when matters were inclining at last to war, since Philip was unable to keep quiet and the Athenians were being stirred up by Demosthenes, in the first place, he urged the Athenians to invade Euboea, which had been brought into subjection to Philip by its tyrants; and it was on his motion that they crossed over to the island and drove out the Macedonians. In the second place, he came to the aid of the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus when the Macedonian was making war upon them, by persuading the Athenian people to remit their hatred and forget the wrongs committed by each of these cities in the Social War,[1] and to send them a force,—the force which saved them. Next, he went on an embassy to the Greek states, and by arguing with them and pricking them on brought almost all of them into a league against Philip, so that they raised a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, apart from the citizen soldiery, and readily contributed money to pay them. It was at this time, as Theophrastus says, when the allies were demanding that their contributions be fixed within limits, that Crobylus the popular leader said: "War has no fixed rations."[2]

Greece was now in suspense as it thought of the future, and its peoples and cities were leaguing themselves together, Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans. But the most important struggle still remained for Demosthenes in bringing the Thebans to join

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[1] At the outbreak of the Social War (357–355 B.C.) Byzantium and other allies of Athens had revolted from her.

[2] See the note on the *Crassus*, ii. 8.

μαχίᾳ, χώραν τε σύνορον τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ δύναμιν
ἐναγώνιον ἔχοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τῶν
5 Ἑλλήνων εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἦν δ'
οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐπὶ προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασι τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον τετιθασευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ
Φιλίππου μεταστῆσαι τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ μάλιστα
ταῖς διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀψιμαχίαις ἀναξαινομένων
ἑκάστοτε τῶν πολεμικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας
διαφορῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

XVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς 854
περὶ τὴν Ἄμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαιρόμενος εἰς τὴν
Ἐλάτειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα
κατέσχεν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μηδὲ
ἔχοντος ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὔσης ἐν
μέσῳ καὶ σιωπῆς, παρελθὼν μόνος ὁ Δημοσθένης
συνεβούλευε τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχεσθαι· καὶ τἆλλα
παραθαρρύνας καὶ μετεωρίσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει,
τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπεστάλη πρεσβευτὴς
2 μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Θήβας. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος,
ὡς Μαρσύας φησίν, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέαρχον
Μακεδόνας, Δάοχον δὲ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Θρασυδαῖον
ἀντεροῦντας.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν
Θηβαίων λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄμμασιν ἕκαστος
εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινά, ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν
3 τραυμάτων νεαρῶν παραμενόντων· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος
δύναμις, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἐκριπίζουσα

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[1] In 339 B.C., Philip was deputed by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the city of Amphissa, near Delphi, for sacrilege. Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 143 ff.

the alliance, for they had a territory bounding that of Attica and a force ready to take the field, and at that time were accounted the best soldiers in Greece. But it was no easy matter, in view of the recent benefits with which Philip had cultivated their favour during the Phocian war, to make the Thebans change sides, and especially because in the petty quarrels brought on by their proximity to Athens the differences which made for war between the two cities were all the while stirred up anew.

XVIII. Philip, however, elated by his good-fortune in the matter of Amphissa,[1] surprised Elateia and occupied Phocis. This step drove the Athenians out of their senses: no one ventured to ascend the bema and no one knew what ought to be said, but perplexity and silence reigned in the assembly. Then it was that Demosthenes, and he alone, came forward and advised the people to cling to Thebes; and after giving them courage in other ways and buoying them up with hopes, as he was wont to do, he was sent with others as ambassador to Thebes. Philip also, as Marsyas tells us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus of Macedonia, Daochus of Thessaly, and Thrasydaeus, to speak in opposition to the Athenians.

Well, then, the Thebans, in their calculations, were not blind to their own interests, but each of them had before his eyes the terrors of war, since their losses in the Phocian war[2] were still fresh; however, the power of the orator, as Theopompus says, fanned up their courage and inflamed

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[2] The second so-called Sacred War (357–346 B.C.), in which Athens aided the Phocians, and Philip the Thebans.

τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν
ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστε καὶ φόβον
καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνθου-
σιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. οὕτω
δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον
ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι
δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὀρθὴν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενέσθαι
4 καὶ συνεξαναστῆναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὑπηρετεῖν
δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει
ποιοῦντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσας
οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ
τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένου παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις καὶ
δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἀδίκως οὐδὲ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν, ὥσπερ
ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντως.

XIX. Τύχη δέ τις ἔοικε δαιμόνιος ἐν περιφορᾷ πραγμάτων, εἰς ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ συμπεραίνουσα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, καὶ πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀναφαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἥ τε Πυθία δεινὰ προὔφαινε μαντεύματα, καὶ χρησμὸς ᾔδετο παλαιὸς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων·

> τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχης ἀπάνευθε γενοίμην,
> αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέεσσι καὶ ἠέρι θηήσασθαι.
> κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλε.

2 Τὸν δὲ Θερμώδοντά φασιν εἶναι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ποτάμιον μικρὸν εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν ἐμβάλλον. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ῥευμάτων ἴσμεν ὀνομαζόμενον, εἰκάζομεν δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Αἵμονα Θερμώδοντα λέγεσθαι τότε·

their honourable ambition and obscured all other considerations, so that, casting away fear and calculation and feelings of obligation, they were rapt away by his words into the path of honour. And so great and glorious was the orator's success seen to be that Philip at once sent an embassy and asked for peace, while Greece was confident and up in arms to aid Demosthenes for the future; and not only did the Athenian generals assist him and do what he ordered, but also the Boeotarchs. He managed at this time all the assemblies of the Thebans no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved by both peoples and exercised supreme power, not illegally nor unworthily, as Theopompus declares, but rather with perfect propriety.

XIX. But it would seem that some divinely ordered fortune in the revolution of affairs, which was putting an end at this time to the freedom of the Greeks, opposed their efforts, and showed forth many signs of what was to come. Among these were the dire prophecies which the Pythian priestess made known, and an ancient oracle which was recited from the Sibylline books:—

"From the battle on Thermodon may I be far removed,
To behold it like an eagle in clouds and upper air.
Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death."

Now, the Thermodon, they say, is in my native territory, in Chaeroneia, being a little river which empties into the Cephisus. But I know of no river bearing this name at the present time; I conjecture, however, that the stream now called Haemon then

καὶ γὰρ παραρρεῖ παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, *ὅπου κατεστρατοπέδευον*
οἱ Ἕλληνες· *καὶ τεκμαιρόμεθα*
τῆς μάχης γενομένης αἵματος ἐμπλησθέντα καὶ
νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν.
3 *ὁ δὲ* Δοῦρις *οὐ ποταμὸν εἶναί φησι*
τὸν Θερμώδοντα, *ἀλλ' ἱστάντας τινὰς σκηνὴν*
καὶ περιορύττοντας ἀνδριαντίσκον εὑρεῖν λίθινον,
ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημαινόμενον ὡς εἴη
Θερμώδων, *ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις* Ἀμαζόνα *φέροντα*
τετρωμένην. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ χρησμὸν ἄλλον
ᾄδεσθαι λέγοντα·

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι *μάχην μένε, παμμέλαν*
ὄρνι·
τηνεί τοι κρέα πολλὰ παρέσσεται ἀνθρώπεια.

XX. Ταῦτα *μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἔχει, διαιτῆσαι*
χαλεπόν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης *λέγεται τοῖς τῶν*
Ἑλλήνων *ὅπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκώς, καὶ λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ*
ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων προκαλουμένων
τοὺς πολεμίους αἰρόμενος, οὔτε χρησμοῖς
ἐᾶν προσέχειν οὔτε μαντείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν Πυθίαν *ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππίζουσαν, ἀναμιμνήσκων*
Ἐπαμινώνδου *τοὺς* Θηβαίους *καὶ*
Περικλέους *τοὺς* Ἀθηναίους, *ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα* 855
δειλίας ἡγούμενοι προφάσεις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς.
2 *μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἀγαθός·*
ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογούμενον

bore the name of Thermodon. For it flows past the Heracleum, where the Greeks had their camp; and I judge that after the battle the river was filled with *blood* and corpses and therefore received its present name in exchange.[1] Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was not a river, but that some soldiers who were pitching a tent and digging a trench about it, found a small stone figure, an inscription upon which signified that it was Thermodon,[2] carrying in its arms a wounded Amazon. They say also that in reference to this another oracle is recited as follows:—

"For the battle on Thermodon wait thou, all-black bird;
There thou shalt have in abundance the flesh of men."

XX. How this matter really stands, then, it is difficult to decide; but as for Demosthenes, he is said to have had complete confidence in the Greek forces, and to have been lifted into a state of glowing excitement by the strength and ardour of so many men eager to engage the enemy, so that he would not suffer his countrymen to give heed to oracles or listen to prophecies; nay, he even suspected the Pythian priestess of being in sympathy with Philip, reminding the Thebans of Epaminondas and the Athenians of Pericles, and declaring that those great leaders regarded things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice, and therefore followed the dictates of reason. Up to this point, then, he was a brave man; but in the battle[3] he displayed no con-

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[1] Deriving Αἷμων from *αἷμα* (*blood*).

[2] *i.e.* the god of the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, on the banks of which the Amazons were thought to dwell. Cf. the *Theseus*, xxvii. 6.

[3] At Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.

ἔργον οἷς εἶπεν ἀποδειξάμενος ᾤχετο λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν, ἀποδρὰς αἴσχιστα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὡς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνθείς, ἐπιγεγραμμένης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς, Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

3 *Παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας, καὶ κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων, ᾖδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων·*

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τάδ᾿ εἶπεν·

ἐκνήψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν
ἀγῶνος ἐν νῷ λαβὼν ἔφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ
τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς
ἡμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος
ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ.
4 *διῖκτο δ᾿ ἡ δόξα μέχρι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως·*
κἀκεῖνος ἔπεμψε τοῖς σατράπαις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
γράμματα, χρήματα Δημοσθένει διδόναι κελεύων,
καὶ προσέχειν ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς
περισπάσαι δυναμένῳ καὶ κατασχεῖν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς
5 *ταραχαῖς τὸν Μακεδόνα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν*
ὕστερον ἐφώρασεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐπιστολάς
τινας ἀνευρὼν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ γράμματα
τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, δηλοῦντα τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

XXI. *Τότε δὲ τῆς ἀτυχίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι ῥήτορες*

duct that was honourable or consonant with his words, but forsook his post, cast away his arms, and ran away most disgracefully, nor was he ashamed to belie the inscription on his shield, as Pytheas said, whereon was written in letters of gold, "With good fortune."

Immediately after his victory, then, Philip waxed insolent for joy, and going forth in revel rout to see the bodies of the slain, and being in his cups, recited the beginning of the decree introduced by Demosthenes, dividing it into feet and marking off the time:—

"Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Paeania,
thus moves;"[1]

but when he got sober and realized the magnitude of the struggle in which he had been involved, he shuddered at the power and the ability of the orator who had forced him to hazard his empire and his life in the brief span of a single day. And the fame of this orator penetrated even to the Persian king, who sent letters to his satraps on the coast, bidding them to offer money to Demosthenes, and to pay more attention to him than to any other Greek, since he was able to distract and detain the Macedonian[2] with the troubles which he raised in Greece. These things, now, were discovered at a later time by Alexander, who found at Sardis certain letters of Demosthenes and documents of the King's generals, which disclosed the amount of money they had given him.

XXI. At this time, however, when their disaster fell upon the Greeks, the orators of the opposing

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[1] The Greek words form an iambic tetrameter catalectic.

[2] Philip was threatening the invasion of Asia.

ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει κατεσκεύαζον εὐθύνας καὶ γραφὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐ μόνον τούτων ἀπέλυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει καὶ προκαλούμενος αὖθις ὡς εὔνουν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, 2 ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὀστέων ἐκ Χαιρωνείας κομισθέντων καὶ θαπτομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ ταπεινῶς οὐδ' ἀγεννῶς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὡς γράφει καὶ τραγῳδεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμᾶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον ἀποδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι 3 τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἐπέγραφεν, ἐξοιωνιζόμενος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἕως αὖθις ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν εὐτυχίᾳ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἐπιβιώσας· καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἀποθεσπίσαι·

κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλεν.

XXII. Ἔγνω μὲν οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, προῆλθε φαιδρὸς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ὄναρ ἑωρακὼς ἀφ' οὗ τι μέγα προσδοκᾶν Ἀθηναίοις ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίπ-

party assailed Demosthenes and prepared reckonings and indictments against him; but the people not only absolved him from these, nay, they actually continued to honour him and invited him again, as a loyal man, to take part in public affairs. Consequently, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia were brought home for burial, they assigned to him the honour of pronouncing the eulogy over the men; nor did they show a base or ignoble spirit under the calamity which had befallen them, as Theopompus writes in his inflated style, but by the special honour and respect which they paid to their counsellor they made it manifest that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them. The oration, then, was pronounced by Demosthenes, but to the decrees which he proposed he would not put his own name, but rather those of his friends, one after the other, avoiding his own as inauspicious and unfortunate, until he once more took courage upon Philip's death. And Philip died, surviving his success at Chaeroneia only a short time;[1] and this, it would seem, was foretold by the last verse of the oracle:—

"Tears are for the conquered there, and for the
conqueror, death."

XXII. Now, Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip's death, and by way of inspiring the Athenians with courage for the future, he came forth to the council with a glad countenance, declaring that he had had a dream which led him to expect some great blessing for Athens; and not long afterwards the messengers came with tidings of

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[1] Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, one of his royal bodyguard, in 336 B.C. See the *Alexander*, x. 4.

που θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθυον εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντο Παυσανίαν.
2 καὶ προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχων λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον ἐστεφανωμένος, ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τεθνηκυίας, ὡς ὁ Αἰσχίνης φησὶ λοιδορῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μισοτεκνίαν, αὐτὸς ὢν ἀγεννὴς καὶ μαλακός, εἰ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλοστόργου ψυχῆς ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀλύπως φέρειν ταῦτα καὶ πρᾴως ἀπεδοκίμαζεν.

3 Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ βασιλέως ἡμέρως οὕτω καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐν οἷς ηὐτύχησε χρησαμένου πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς στεφανηφορεῖν καλῶς εἶχε καὶ θύειν, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἀγεννές, ζῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, πεσόντος δ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου μὴ 856 φέρειν τὴν χαρὰν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἐπισκιρτᾶν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδρα-
4 γαθήσαντας· ὅτι μέντοι τὰς οἴκοι τύχας καὶ δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς ἀπολιπὼν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἃ τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν ᾤετο, ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τίθεμαι πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀνδρώδους ψυχῆς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἱστάμενον καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ πράγματα τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπανέχοντα τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ

Philip's death. At once, then, the Athenians proceeded to make thank-offerings for glad tidings and voted a crown for Pausanias. And Demosthenes came forth in public dressed in a splendid robe and wearing a garland on his head, although his daughter had died only six days before, as Aeschines says,[1] who rails at him for this and denounces him as an unnatural father. And yet Aeschines himself was of a weak and ungenerous nature, if he considered mournings and lamentations as the signs of an affectionate spirit, but condemned the bearing of such losses serenely and without repining.

For my own part, I cannot say that it was honourable in the Athenians to crown themselves with garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods on the death of a king who, in the midst of his successes, had treated them so mildly and humanely in their reverses; for besides provoking the indignation of the gods, it was also an ignoble thing to honour him while he was alive and make him a citizen of Athens, but when he had fallen by another's hand to set no bounds to their joy, nay, to leap, as it were, upon the dead, and sing paeans of victory, as if they themselves had wrought a deed of valour. However, for leaving his domestic misfortunes and tears and lamentations to the women and going about such business as he thought advantageous to the city, I commend Demosthenes, and I hold it to be the part of a statesmanlike and manly spirit to keep ever in view the good of the community, to find support for domestic sorrows and concerns in the public welfare, and to preserve one's dignity far more than actors

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[1] *Against Ctesiphon* (or *On the Crown*), § 77.

τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τυραννικῶν προσώπων, οὓς ὁρῶμεν οὔτε κλαίοντας οὔτε γελῶντας ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

5 *Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τὸν ἀτυχήσαντα μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπαρηγόρητον ἐν τῷ πάθει κείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις χρῆσθαι κουφίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἡδίω πράγματα τρέπειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμιῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων ἐπὶ τὰ χλωρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ χρώματα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπάγειν κελεύοντες, πόθεν ἄν τις ἐπαγάγοιτο βελτίω παρηγορίαν ἢ πατρίδος εὐτυχούσης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα σύγκρασιν ποριζόμενος τοῖς βελτίοσιν ἀφανίζουσαν τὰ χείρω; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν ὁρῶντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πρὸς οἶκτον.*

XXIII. *Αἱ δὲ πόλεις πάλιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀναρριπίζοντος αὐτὰς συνίσταντο. καὶ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἐπέθεντο τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον, ὅπλα τοῦ Δημοσθένους αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευάσαντος, Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὡς πολεμήσοντες μετ' αὐτῶν*
2 *παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεῖχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔγραφε τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεγείρων πόλεμον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παῖδα καὶ Μαργίτην ἀποκαλῶν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν θέμενος παρῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν,*

do when they take the parts of kings and tyrants; for these, as we see in the theatres, neither weep nor laugh according to their own inclinations, but as the subject of the action demands.

And apart from these considerations, if it is our duty not to allow the unfortunate to lie comfortless in his sorrow, but to address him with cheering words and turn his thoughts to pleasanter things (like those who tell people with sore eyes to withdraw their gaze from bright and hard colours and fix it upon those which are soft and green), how can a man obtain better consolation for his domestic griefs than by blending them with the general welfare of a prosperous country, thus making the better things obscure the worse? These things, then, I have been led to say on seeing that many have their hearts softened to effeminate pity by this discourse of Aeschines.

XXIII. The cities of Greece, under the incitations of Demosthenes, now formed themselves into a league again. The Thebans, whom Demosthenes had helped to provide with arms, fell upon their Macedonian garrison and slew many of them; while the Athenians made preparations to go to war along with them. Demosthenes reigned supreme in the assembly, and wrote letters to the King's generals in Asia stirring them up to make war upon Alexander, whom he called a boy and a Margites.[1] When, however, Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country and came in person with his forces into Boeotia, prone lay the courage

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[1] *i.e. Silly Madman.* A mock heroic poem bearing this name was attributed to Homer. Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 160.

ἐξεκέκοπτο μὲν ἡ θρασύτης τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀπεσβήκει, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἠγωνίσαντο καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ τὴν
3 πόλιν ἀπέβαλον. θορύβου δὲ μεγάλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστῶτος, ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἱρεθεὶς μεθ' ἑτέρων πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δείσας δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφῆκεν. εὐθὺς δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξῄτει πέμπων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μέν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτὼ δ', ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τούσδε, Δημοσθένην, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκοῦργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλισθένην, Χαρίδημον.

4 Ὅτε καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν προβάτων λόγον ὁ Δημοσθένης προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ[1] τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἐξέδωκε, διηγησάμενος αὑτὸν μὲν εἴκασε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὑτῷ κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσεν. ἔτι δ', "Ὥσπερ," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμπόρους ὁρῶμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δεῖγμα περιφέρωσι, δι' ὀλίγων πυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πιπράσκοντας, οὕτως ἐν ἡμῖν λανθάνετε πάντας
5 αὐτοὺς συνεκδιδόντες." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἱστόρηκε.

Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων, ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεή-

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[1] προσῆψε . . . ἃ Graux with Mª : ὡς.

of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was extinguished, while the Thebans, betrayed by their allies, fought by themselves and lost their city.[1] Then, in the midst of the great confusion which reigned at Athens, Demosthenes was chosen and sent with others as an ambassador to Alexander, but fearing the wrath of the king he turned back at Cithaeron and abandoned the embassy.[2] Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes told the Athenians the story of how the sheep surrendered their dogs to the wolves, comparing himself and his fellow-orators to dogs fighting in defence of the people, and calling Alexander "the Macedonian arch-wolf." Moreover, he said further: "Just as grain-merchants sell their whole stock by means of a few kernels of wheat which they carry about with them in a bowl as a sample, so in surrendering us you unwittingly surrender also yourselves, all of you." Such, then, is the account which Aristobulus of Cassandreia has given.

The Athenians were deliberating on this demand and were at a loss how to treat it, when Demades, for five talents which he had received from the men demanded, agreed to go on an embassy to

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[1] In October, 335 B.C.

[2] Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 161.

σεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴτε τῇ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, εἴτε προσδοκῶν μεστὸν εὑρήσειν ὥσπερ λέοντα φόνου κεκορεσμένον. ἔπεισε δ' οὖν καὶ παρῃτήσατο τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Δημάδης, καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν.

XXIV. *Ἀπελθόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλοι* 857
μὲν ἦσαν οὗτοι, ταπεινὰ δ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Δημοσθένης. κινουμένῳ δὲ Ἄγιδι τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ βραχέα συνεκινήθη πάλιν, εἶτ' ἔπτηξε, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ συνεξαναστάντων, τοῦ δ' Ἄγιδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων.

Εἰσήχθη δὲ τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφὴ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, γραφεῖσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν,
2 *κριθεῖσα δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος, γενομένη δὲ ὡς οὐδεμία τῶν δημοσίων περιβόητος διά τε τὴν δόξαν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαζόντων εὐγένειαν, οἳ τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὸν Δημοσθένην τότε πλεῖστον δυναμένοις καὶ μακεδονίζουσιν οὐ προήκαντο τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἀλλ' οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*

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[1] From 333 B.C. to 330 B.C., Agis III., the king of Sparta, carried on war against Macedonia in conjunction with Persia. In the latter year he was defeated and slain by Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia.

[2] In 336 B.C., Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes receive a golden crown for certain public services, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The document (Demos. *De Cor.* § 54), from which Plutarch takes

the king and entreat him in their behalf; either because he relied on the friendship of Alexander, or because he expected to find him sated, like a lion glutted with slaughter. At any rate, Demades persuaded the king to let the men off, and reconciled him with the city.

XXIV. So when Alexander went back to Macedonia, Demades and his associates were high in power, but Demosthenes acted a humble part. It is true that when Agis the Spartan was active in revolt Demosthenes once more made a feeble effort in his support, but then he cowered down, since the Athenians would not join in the uprising. Agis fell in battle, and the Lacedaemonians were crushed.[1]

It was at this time that the indictment against Ctesiphon in the matter of the crown came on for trial. It had been prepared in the archonship of Chaerondas a little before the battle of Chaeroneia, but came on for trial ten years later[2] in the archonship of Aristophon. It became the most celebrated of all public causes, not only on account of the fame of the orators, but also because of the noble conduct of the judges, who, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then at the height of power and acting in the interests of Macedonia, would not vote against him, but acquitted him so decisively that Aeschines did not get a fifth part of their ballots.[3] Consequently, Aeschines forsook the city at once, and spent the

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the name of Chaerondas, the archon of 338, has been shown to be spurious. The case was tried in 330 B.C.

[3] This made Aeschines liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and made it impossible for him to bring any future action before an Athenian court.

ᾤχετ᾽ ἀπιών, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε.

XXV. Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ Ἅρπαλος ἧκεν ἐξ
Ἀσίας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδρὰς Ἀλέξανδρον,
αὐτῷ τε πράγματα συνειδὼς πονηρὰ δι᾽ ἀσωτίαν,
κἀκεῖνον ἤδη χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς φίλοις δεδοικώς.
καταφυγόντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ
τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτὸν παραδιδόντος,
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥήτορες εὐθὺς ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες
πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνέπειθον τοὺς
2 Ἀθηναίους δέχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην. ὁ δὲ
Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελαύνειν συνεβούλευε
τὸν Ἅρπαλον, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ τὴν πόλιν
ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας καὶ
ἀδίκου προφάσεως· ἡμέραις δ᾽ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον
ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἅρπαλος
ἡσθέντα βαρβαρικῇ κύλικι καὶ καταμανθάνοντα
τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐκέλευσε διαβαστάσαντα
τὴν ὁλκὴν τοῦ χρυσίου σκέψασθαι.
3 θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ βάρος καὶ
πυθομένου πόσον ἄγει, μειδιάσας ὁ Ἅρπαλος,
“Ἄξει σοι,” φησίν, “εἴκοσι τάλαντα·” καὶ
γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ
τὴν κύλικα μετὰ τῶν εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ᾽
ἄρα δεινὸς ὁ Ἅρπαλος ἐρωτικοῦ πρὸς χρυσίον
ἀνδρὸς ὄψει καὶ διαχύσει καὶ βολαῖς ὀμμάτων
4 ἀνευρεῖν ἦθος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης,

rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes and Ionia.

XXV. Not long afterwards Harpalus[1] came out of Asia to Athens. He had run away from Alexander, because he was conscious that his prodigality had led him into criminal practices, and because he was afraid of his master, who was now become harsh to his friends. But after he had taken refuge with the Athenian people and put himself in their hands with his ships and his treasures, the other orators at once fixed their longing eyes upon his wealth, came to his aid, and tried to persuade the Athenians to receive and save the suppliant. But Demosthenes, in the beginning, counselled them to drive Harpalus away, and to beware lest they plunge the city into war upon an unnecessary and unjust ground; a few days afterwards, however, while they were making an inventory of the treasure, Harpalus saw that Demosthenes was eyeing with pleasure a cup of barbarian make, with a keen appreciation of its fashion and of the ornamental work upon it. He therefore bade him poise it in his hand and see how heavy the gold was. And when Demosthenes was amazed at its weight and asked how much it would amount to, Harpalus smiled and said, "For you it will amount to twenty talents;" and as soon as night was come he sent him the cup with the twenty talents. Now, Harpalus was skilful in detecting the character of a man who had a passion for gold, by means of the look that spread over his face and the glances of his eyes. For Demosthenes could not resist, but was overcome by the

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[1] Alexander's treasurer. He came to Athens in 324 B.C

ἀλλὰ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥσπερ παρα-
δεδεγμένος φρουρὰν προσκεχωρήκει τῷ Ἁρπάλῳ.
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ἐρίοις καὶ ταινίαις
κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καθελιξάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν προῆλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι
καὶ λέγειν, διένευεν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς
5 φωνῆς. οἱ δ' εὐφυεῖς χλευάζοντες οὐχ ὑπὸ
συνάγχης ἔφραζον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀργυράγχης εἰλῆφθαι
νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν. ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ δήμου
παντὸς αἰσθομένου τὴν δωροδοκίαν καὶ βουλό-
μενον ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν οὐκ ἐῶντος, ἀλλὰ
χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, ἀναστάς τις
ἔσκωψεν εἰπών· "Οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος;"
6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν
Ἅρπαλον, δεδιότες δὲ μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται χρη-
μάτων ὧν διηρπάκεσαν οἱ ῥήτορες, ζήτησιν ἐποι-
οῦντο νεανικὴν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιόντες ἠρεύνων,
πλὴν τῆς Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀρρενίδου. μόνην
γὰρ τὴν τούτου νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότος οὐκ εἴασαν
ἐλεγχθῆναι, νύμφης ἔνδον οὔσης, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
Θεόπομπος.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὁμόσε χωρῶν εἰσή-
νεγκε ψήφισμα τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν
ἐξετάσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ δόξαντας
ἀδικεῖν δοῦναι δίκην. ἐν δὲ πρώτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς
βουλῆς ἐκείνου καταψηφισαμένης, εἰσῆλθε μὲν

bribe, and now that he had, as it were, admitted a garrison into his house, promptly went over to the side of Harpalus. Next day, after swathing his neck carefully in woollen bandages, he went forth into the assembly; and when he was urged to rise and speak, he made signs that his voice was ruined. The wits, however, by way of raillery, declared that the orator had been seized overnight, not with an ordinary quinsy, but with a silver quinsy. And afterwards, when the whole people learned that he had been bribed, and would not permit him, when he wished it, to have a hearing and make his defence, but were angry and raised a tumult against him, someone rose and said jokingly: "Men of Athens, will you not listen to the man who holds the cup?"[1]

At that time, then, they sent Harpalus away from the city, and fearing lest they should be called to account for the moneys which the orators had seized, they made a zealous search for it, and went round to their houses on the quest, except that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides. For his house was the only one which they would not allow to be searched, since he was newly married and his bride was within, as Theopompus relates.

XXVI. But Demosthenes put a bold face on the matter and introduced a bill providing that the case should be referred for investigation to the council of the Areiopagus, and that those should be brought to trial who were found guilty there. He was himself, however, among the first condemned by the council, and came before the court for trial,

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[1] At feasts, the cup passed from guest to guest, and the one who held it had the right of uninterrupted speech or song.

εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὀφλὼν δὲ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
δίκην καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον,
2 αἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας φησὶ[1] καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ 858
σώματος οὐ δυναμένου φέρειν τὸν εἱργμὸν ἀποδρᾶναι
τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα, τῶν δὲ λαθεῖν ἐξουσίαν
δόντων. λέγεται γοῦν ὡς οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ἄστεος
φεύγων αἴσθοιτό τινας τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῷ πολιτῶν
ἐπιδιώκοντας, καὶ βούλοιτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποκρύπτειν,
3 ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνοι φθεγξάμενοι τοὔνομα καὶ
προσελθόντες ἐγγὺς ἐδέοντο λαβεῖν ἐφόδια παρ'
αὐτῶν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κομίζοντες ἀργύριον οἴκοθεν
καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐπιδιώξαντες αὐτόν, ἅμα δὲ
θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν καὶ μὴ φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς τὸ
συμβεβηκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι τὸν
Δημοσθένην καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλω
φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολιπὼν πόλιν ἐχθροὺς τοιούτους
ἔχουσαν οἵους ἐν ἑτέρᾳ φίλους εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν
ἐστιν;"

4 Ἤνεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγὴν μαλακῶς, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ
Τροιζῆνι καθεζόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος, ὥστε φωνὰς
οὐκ εὐγνώμονας οὐδ' ὁμολογούσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ
πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι. λέγεται
γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ
πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰπεῖν·
"Ὦ δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί δὴ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις
χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκὶ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ

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[1] φησὶ Reiske, and Graux with M^a : φασί.

where he was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents and delivered over to prison in default of payment. But out of shame at the charge under which he lay, as he says,[1] and owing to the weakness of his body, which could not endure confinement, he ran away, through the carelessness of some of his keepers and the connivance of others. At any rate, we are told that when he was in flight at a short distance from the city, he learned that some of the citizens who were his enemies were in pursuit of him, and therefore wished to hide himself; and when they called upon him loudly by name, and came up near to him, and begged him to accept from them provision for his journey, declaring that they were bringing money from home for this very purpose, and were pursuing him only in order to get it to him; and when at the same time they exhorted him to be of good courage and not to be pained at what had happened, Demosthenes broke out all the more into cries of grief, saying: "Surely I must be distressed to leave a city where my enemies are as generous as I can hardly find friends to be in another."

And he bore his exile without fortitude, taking up his quarters in Aegina and Troezen for the most part, and looking off towards Attica with tears in his eyes, so that utterances of his are on record which are not generous or consonant with his spirited efforts as a statesman. We are told, namely, that as he was leaving the city he lifted up his hands towards the acropolis and said: "O potent Guardian of the City, Athena, how, pray, canst thou take delight in those three most intractable beasts, the

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[1] In the second of the letters which have come down to us under his name, § 17.

5 *δήμῳ;" τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ καὶ συνδιατρίβοντας
νεανίσκους ἀπέτρεπε τῆς πολιτείας λέγων
ὡς εἰ, δυεῖν προκειμένων ὁδῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τῆς
μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῆς δ' ἄντικρυς
εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἐτύγχανε προειδὼς τὰ κατὰ
τὴν πολιτείαν κακά, φόβους καὶ φθόνους καὶ
διαβολὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ὁρμῆσαι
τὴν εὐθὺ τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν.*

XXVII. *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν
εἰρημένην φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε,
τὰ δ' Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, Λεωσθένους
ἀνδραγαθοῦντος καὶ περιτειχίζοντος Ἀντίπατρον*
2 *ἐν Λαμίᾳ πολιορκούμενον. Πυθέας μὲν οὖν ὁ
ῥήτωρ καὶ Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
φεύγοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσεγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ
τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων καὶ πρέσβεων περιϊόντες οὐκ
εἴων ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ προσέχειν
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· Δημοσθένης δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος
πρεσβεύουσι προσμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἠγωνίζετο καὶ
συνέπραττεν ὅπως αἱ πόλεις συνεπιθήσονται τοῖς
Μακεδόσι καὶ συνεκβαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*
3 *ἐν δ' Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ λοιδορίαν τοῦ Πυθέου
καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
εἴρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ
τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγοντος.
λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν Πυθέαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι,
καθάπερ οἰκίαν εἰς ἣν ὄνειον εἰσφέρεται γάλα,
κακόν τι πάντως ἔχειν νομίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ πόλιν
ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν εἰς ἣν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρα-*

owl, the serpent, and the people?" Moreover, when young men came to visit and converse with him, he would try to deter them from public life, saying that if two roads had been presented to him in the beginning, one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other straight to destruction, and if he could have known beforehand the evils attendant on a public career, namely, fears, hatreds, calumnies and contentions, he would have taken that road which led directly to death.

XXVII. But while he was still undergoing the exile of which I have spoken, Alexander died,[1] and the Greek states proceeded to form a league again, while Leosthenes was displaying deeds of valour and walling Antipater up in Lamia, where he held him in siege. Accordingly, the orators Pytheas and Callimedon (called the Stag-beetle) fled from Athens and joined the party of Antipater, and travelling about with the regent's friends and ambassadors tried to prevent the Greeks from revolting or attaching themselves to Athens; but Demosthenes, joining himself to the ambassadors from Athens, used his utmost efforts in helping them to induce the cities to unite in attacking the Macedonians and expelling them from Greece. And Phylarchus states that in Arcadia Pytheas and Demosthenes actually fell to abusing one another in an assembly, the one speaking in behalf of the Macedonians, the other in behalf of the Greeks. Pytheas, we are told, said that just as we think that a house into which asses' milk is brought must certainly have some evil in it, so also a city must of necessity be diseased into which an Athenian embassy comes; whereupon

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[1] At Babylon, in May, 323 B.C.

4 γίνεται· τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην στρέψαι τὸ παράδειγμα,
φήσαντα καὶ τὸ γάλα τὸ ὄνειον ἐφ᾿ ὑγιείᾳ
καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραγίνεσθαι
τῶν νοσούντων.

Ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἡσθεὶς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ψηφίζεται
τῷ Δημοσθένει κάθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν
ψήφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν Δημοσθένους,
εἰσήνεγκεν· ἐπέμφθη δὲ τριήρης ἐπ᾿
5 αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγιναν. ἐκ δὲ Πειραιῶς ἀνέβαινεν
οὔτε ἄρχοντος οὔτε ἱερέως ἀπολειφθέντος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀπαντώντων
καὶ δεχομένων προθύμως. ὅτε καί φησιν
αὐτὸν ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος ἀνατείναντα τὰς
χεῖρας μακαρίσαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αὐτόν, ὡς
βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδου κατιόντα· πεπεισμένους
γάρ, οὐ βεβιασμένους, ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς
6 πολίτας. τῆς δὲ χρηματικῆς ζημίας αὐτῷ μενούσης
(οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν χάριτι λῦσαι καταδίκην) ἐσοφίσαντο 859
πρὸς τὸν νόμον. εἰωθότες γὰρ ἐν τῇ
θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀργύριον τελεῖν
τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι τὸν βωμόν,
ἐκείνῳ τότε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν πεντήκοντα
ταλάντων ἐξέδωκαν, ὅσον ἦν τίμημα τῆς
καταδίκης.

XXVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πατρίδος κατελθών, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων Μεταγειτνιῶνος μὲν ἡ περὶ Κραννῶνα μάχη συνέπεσε, Βοηδρο-

Demosthenes turned the illustration against him by saying that asses' milk was given to restore health, and the Athenians came to bring salvation to the sick.

At this conduct the Athenian people were delighted, and voted that Demosthenes might return from exile. The decree was brought in by Demon of Paeania, who was a cousin of Demosthenes; and a trireme was sent to Aegina to fetch him home. When he set out to go up to the city from Piraeus, not an archon or a priest was missing, and all the rest of the people also met him in a body and welcomed him eagerly. It was at this time, too, as Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted his hands towards heaven and blessed himself for that day, since he was coming home from exile more honourably than Alcibiades did; for he had persuaded, not forced, his fellow-citizens to welcome him. It is true that his pecuniary fine remained standing against him (for it was not lawful to remit an assessment by act of grace), but they found a device to evade the law. It was their custom, namely, in the case of a sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, to pay a sum of money to those who prepared and adorned the altar, and they now gave Demosthenes the contract to make these preparations for fifty talents, which was just the amount of his assessment.

XXVIII. However, he did not enjoy his native city for long after his return from exile, but the cause of Greece was speedily crushed, and in the month of Metageitnion the battle at Crannon took place,[1] in that of Boëdromion the Macedonian

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[1] August 6th, 322 B.C. In this battle Antipater and Craterus crushed the combined armies of the Greeks and concluded the so-called Lamian war.

μιῶνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἡ φρουρά,
Πυανεψιῶνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν
τρόπον.
2 Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἠγγέλλοντο
προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην
φθάσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν θάνατον κατέγνω Δημάδου
γράψαντος. ἄλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ διασπαρέντων
ὁ Ἀντίπατρος περιέπεμπε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας,
ὧν ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς φυγαδοθήρας.
3 τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τραγῳδίας
ὑποκρίνεσθαί ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγινήτην
Πῶλον τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκείνου
γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἕρμιππος
δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος
μαθηταῖς[1] ἀναγράφει· Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμένους
4 διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτόν. οὗτος
οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Ὑπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ
Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίου
τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἱμεραῖον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καταφυγόντας
ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἀποσπάσας ἔπεμψεν
εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· κἀκεῖ διεφθάρησαν,
Ὑπερείδου δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθῆναι
λέγουσι.

XXIX. Τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην πυθόμενος ἱκέτην
ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ποσειδῶνος καθέζεσθαι,
διαπλεύσας ὑπηρετικοῖς καὶ ἀποβὰς μετὰ Θρᾳκῶν
δορυφόρων ἔπειθεν ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν μετ᾽
αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὡς δυσχερὲς πεισόμενον

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[1] μαθηταῖς with Reiske, Coraës, Bekker, and M^{a} (Graux): μαθητήν.

garrison entered Munychia, and in that of Pyanepsion Demosthenes died, in the following manner.

When Antipater and Craterus were reported to be advancing upon Athens, Demosthenes and his associates succeeded in escaping by stealth from the city, and the people, on motion of Demades, passed sentence of death upon them. Since they dispersed themselves to different places, Antipater sent his soldiers about to arrest them, under the command of Archias the so-called Exile-hunter. This man was a native of Thurii, and the story goes that he was once a tragic actor; indeed, it is recorded that Polus of Aegina, the best actor of his time, was a pupil of his. But Hermippus states that Archias was one of the pupils of Lacritus the rhetorician; while Demetrius says that he belonged to the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, then, finding that Hypereides the orator and Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus at Aegina, haled them away and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were put to death, and Hypereides, it is said, also had his tongue cut out.

XXIX. Moreover, on learning that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, Archias sailed across to the island in small boats, and after landing with Thracian spearmen tried to persuade the fugitive to leave the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he would suffer no harsh treatment. But

2 οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανεν ὄψιν ἑωρακὼς
κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλλόκοτον.
ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγῳδίαν
ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ
θέατρον ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρατεῖσθαι.
διὸ τοῦ Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα
διαλεχθέντος ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ
ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, “Ὦ Ἀρχία,” εἶπεν, “οὔτε
ὑποκρινόμενός με ἔπεισας πώποτε οὔτε νῦν πείσεις
3 ἐπαγγελλόμενος.” ἀρξαμένου δ' ἀπειλεῖν
τοῦ Ἀρχίου μετ' ὀργῆς, “Νῦν,” ἔφη, “λέγεις τὰ
ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, ἄρτι δ' ὑπεκρίνου.
μικρὸν οὖν ἐπίσχες, ὅπως ἐπιστείλω τι τοῖς
οἴκοι.” καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐντὸς ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ
ναοῦ· καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον ὡς γράφειν μέλλων
προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τὸν κάλαμον, καὶ δακών,
ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει,
χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχεν, εἶτα συγκαλυψάμενος
4 ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς
θύρας ἑστῶτες δορυφόροι κατεγέλων ὡς ἀποδειλιῶντος
αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν ἀπεκάλουν καὶ
ἄνανδρον, ὁ δ' Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν ἀνίστασθαι
παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν λόγους
αὖθις ἐπηγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον.
ἤδη δὲ συνῃσθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης
ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος
ἐξεκαλύψατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,
5 “Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις,” εἶπεν, “ἤδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας
ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα

it chanced that Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had seen a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias for the prize, and that although he acquitted himself well and won the favour of the audience, his lack of stage decorations and costumes cost him the victory. Therefore, after Archias had said many kindly things to him, Demosthenes, just as he sat, looked steadfastly at him and said: "O Archias, thou didst never convince me by thine acting, nor wilt thou now convince me by thy promises." And when Archias began to threaten him angrily, "Now," said he, "thou utterest the language of the Macedonian oracle;[1] but a moment ago thou wert acting a part. Wait a little, then, that I may write a message to my family." With these words, he retired into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if about to write, he put his pen to his mouth and bit it, as he was wont to do when thinking what he should write, and kept it there some time, then covered and bent his head. The spearmen, then, who stood at the door, laughed at him for playing the coward, and called him weak and unmanly, but Archias came up and urged him to rise, and reïterating the same speeches as before, promised him a reconciliation with Antipater. But Demosthenes, now conscious that the poison was affecting and overpowering him, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, "Thou canst not be too soon now," said he, "in playing the part of Creon in the tragedy and casting this

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[1] *i.e.* thy real sentiments, in obedience to Antipater.

τοῦτο ῥίπτων ἄταφον. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ζῶν ἐξανισταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ· τῷ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐδ' ὁ σὸς ναὸς καθαρὸς ἀπολέλειπται." ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ κελεύσας ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τρέμοντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ στενάξας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν.

XXX. Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ 860
καλάμου λαβεῖν φησιν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴρηται· Πάπ-
πος δέ τις, οὗ τὴν ἱστορίαν Ἕρμιππος ἀνείληφε,
φησί, πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ
βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένην ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὑρεθῆναι,
"Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ," καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο·
2 θαυμαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος
διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Θρᾷκας ὡς ἔκ
τινος ῥακίου λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα προσθοῖτο τῷ
στόματι καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα
χρυσὸν ᾠήθησαν εἶναι τὸ καταπινόμενον· ἡ δ'
ὑπηρετοῦσα παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένων τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαίη πολὺν εἶναι χρόνον ἐξ οὗ
φοροίη τὸν ἀπόδεσμον ἐκεῖνον ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς
3 φυλακτήριον. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν
κρίκῳ φησὶ κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον φυλάσσειν· τὸν
δὲ κρίκον εἶναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα περιβραχιό-
νιον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὅσοι γεγράφασι περὶ αὐτοῦ,
πάμπολλοι δέ εἰσι, τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον
4 ἐπεξελθεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ Δημο-

body out without burial.[1] But I, O beloved Poseidon, will depart from thy sanctury while I am still alive; whereas Antipater and the Macedonians would not have left even thy temple undefiled." So speaking, and bidding someone support him, since he was now trembling and tottering, he had no sooner gone forth and passed by the altar than he fell, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

XXX. As for the poison, Ariston says he took it from the pen, as I have said; but a certain Pappus, from whom Hermippus took his story, says that when he had fallen by the side of the altar, there was found written in the scroll the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more; and that when men were amazed at the suddenness of his death the Thracians who had stood at the door told the story that he took the poison into his hand from a cloth and put it to his mouth and swallowed it; and that they themselves, strange to say, had supposed that what he swallowed was gold; and that the little maid who served him, when inquiries were made by Archias, said that Demosthenes had long worn that cloth girdle as a safeguard against his enemies. And even Eratosthenes himself says that Demosthenes kept the poison in a hollow bracelet, and that he wore this bracelet as an ornament upon his arm. But the divergent stories of all the others who have written about the matter, and they are very many, need not be recounted; except that Demochares the relative of Demosthenes says

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[1] An allusion to the Creon in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, by whose edict the body of Polyneices was to be left unburied (vv. 26 ff., 191 ff.).

σθένους οἰκεῖος οἴεσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκου, θεῶν δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ὠμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι, συντόμως καταστρέψαντα καὶ ἀλύπως. κατέστρεψε δὲ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

5 *Τούτῳ μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε χαλκῆν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἔχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος·*

εἴπερ ἴσην ῥώμην γνώμῃ, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,
οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι, κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι.

XXXI. *Μικρὸν δὲ πρόσθεν ἢ παραβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς Ἀθήναζε λέγεταί τι τοιόνδε συμβῆναι. στρατιώτης ἐπὶ κρίσιν τινὰ καλούμενος ὑφ' ἡγεμόνος, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίδιον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέθηκε τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἕστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέφυκεν οὐ μεγάλη*
2 *πλάτανος. ἀπὸ ταύτης πολλὰ τῶν φύλλων, εἴτε*

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[1] An annual festival in honour of Demeter and Persephone.

[2] This statue, the work of Polyeuctus, was erected in 280–279 B.C., on motion of Demochares, a nephew of Demos-

that in his opinion it was not due to poison, but to the honour and kindly favour shown him by the gods, that he was rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and painless death. And he died on the sixteenth of the month Pyanepsion, the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria,[1] which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

It was to this man, a little while after his death, that the Athenian people paid worthy honour by erecting his statue[2] in bronze, and by decreeing that the eldest of his house should have public maintenance in the prytaneium. And this celebrated inscription was inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue:—

"If thy strength had only been equal to thy purposes,
Demosthenes,
Never would the Greeks have been ruled by a
Macedonian Ares."

Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria, as he was about to put the poison to his lips, talk utter nonsense.

XXXI. Now, a short time before I took up my abode in Athens, the following incident is said to have occurred. A soldier who had been called to an account by his commander, put what little gold he had into the hands of this statue of Demosthenes. It stood with its fingers interlaced, and hard by grew a small plane-tree. Many of the leaves from this tree, whether the wind accidentally

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thenes. The well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican is thought to be a copy of it. See Pausanias, i. 8, 2, with Frazer's notes.

πνεύματος ἐκ τύχης καταβαλόντος, εἴτ᾿ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ θεὶς ἐκάλυψε, περικείμενα καὶ συμπεσόντα λαθεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. ὡς δ᾿ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπανελθὼν ἀνεῦρε καὶ διεδόθη λόγος ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ τῶν εὐφυῶν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους διημιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι.

3 Δημάδην δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπολαύσαντα
τῆς φυομένης δόξης ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη κατήγαγεν
εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὓς ἐκολάκευεν αἰσχρῶς,
ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξολούμενον δικαίως, ἐπαχθῆ μὲν
ὄντα καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς, τότε δ᾿ εἰς αἰτίαν
ἄφυκτον ἐμπεσόντα. γράμματα γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν
αὐτοῦ, δι᾿ ὧν παρεκάλει Περδίκκαν ἐπιχειρεῖν
Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἀπὸ
σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος (λέγων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον)
4 ἠρτημένους. ἐφ᾿ οἷς Δεινάρχου τοῦ
Κορινθίου κατηγορήσαντος παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κάσσανδρος
ἐγκατέσφαξεν αὐτοῦ τῷ κόλπῳ τὸν υἱόν,
εἶτα οὕτως ἐκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, ἐν τοῖς
μεγίστοις διδασκόμενον ἀτυχήμασιν ὅτι πρώτους
ἑαυτοὺς οἱ προδόται πωλοῦσιν, ὃ πολλάκις Δημοσθένους
προαγορεύοντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσε.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, Σόσσιε, βίον ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ διηκούσαμεν.

blew them thither, or whether the depositor himself took this way of concealing his treasure, lay clustering together about the gold and hid it for a long time. At last, however, the man came back, found his treasure intact, and an account of the matter was spread abroad, whereupon the wits of the city took for a theme the incorruptibility of Demosthenes and vied with one another in their epigrams.

As for Demades, he had not long enjoyed his growing reputation when vengeance for Demosthenes brought him into Macedonia, whose people he had disgracefully flattered, only to be by them justly put to death. He had been obnoxious to them even before this, but now fell under a charge from which there was no escape. A letter of his, namely, leaked out, in which he had urged Perdiccas to seize Macedonia and deliver the Greeks, who, he said, were fastened to it only by an old and rotten thread (meaning Antipater). And when Deinarchus the Corinthian denounced him for this, Cassander[1] flew into a rage and slew the son of Demades as he stood close by his father's side, and then ordered that Demades should be likewise killed. Demades was now learning amid his extremest misfortunes that traitors sell themselves first, a truth of which Demosthenes had often assured him, but which he would not believe.

And so, Sosius,[2] thou hast the promised Life of Demosthenes, drawn from such written or oral sources as I could find.

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[1] The son of Antipater and, later, his successor.

[2] See the opening sentence of the *Life*.

CICERO

ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ

I. Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα λέγουσιν 861
Ἑλβίαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέναι,
περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ
τραφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς Τύλλον
Ἄττιον ἀνάγουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους, βασιλεύσαντα
λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐολούσκοις καὶ πολεμήσαντα
2 Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἀδυνάτως. ὁ μέντοι πρῶτος
ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς ἄξιος λόγου
δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, διὸ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ ἀπέρριψαν
οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠσπάσαντο, καίπερ ὑπὸ
πολλῶν χλευαζομένην. κίκερα γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι
τὸν ἐρέβινθον καλοῦσι, κἀκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πέρατι
τῆς ῥινὸς διαστολήν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀμβλεῖαν εἶχεν
ὥσπερ ἐρεβίνθου διαφυήν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐκτήσατο τὴν
3 ἐπωνυμίαν. αὐτός γε μὴν Κικέρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε
γέγραπται, τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν οἰομένων δεῖν, ὅτε
πρῶτον ἀρχὴν μετῄει καὶ πολιτείας ἥπτετο,
φυγεῖν τοὔνομα καὶ μεταθέσθαι, λέγεται νεανιευσάμενος
εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀγωνιεῖται τὸν Κικέρωνα τῶν
Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδεῖξαι.
4 ταμιεύων δ᾽ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάθημα
ποιούμενος ἀργυροῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δύο τῶν
ὀνομάτων ἐπέγραψε, τόν τε Μᾶρκον καὶ τὸν

CICERO

I. It is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, that she was well born and lived an honourable life; but of his father nothing can be learned that does not go to an extreme. For some say that he was born and reared in a fuller's shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius,[1] an illustrious king of the Volscians, who waged war upon the Romans with great ability. However, the first member of the family who was surnamed Cicero seems to have been worthy of note, and for that reason his posterity did not reject the surname, but were fond of it, although many made it a matter of raillery. For "cicer" is the Latin name for *chick-pea*, and this ancestor of Cicero, as it would seem, had a faint dent in the end of his nose like the cleft of a chick-pea, from which he acquired his surname. Cicero himself, however, whose Life I now write, when he first entered public life and stood for office and his friends thought he ought to drop or change the name, is said to have replied with spirit that he would strive to make the name of Cicero more illustrious than such names as Scaurus or Catulus. Moreover, when he was quaestor in Sicily and was dedicating to the gods a piece of silver plate, he had his first two names inscribed thereon, the

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[1] Called Tullus Aufidius in the *Coriolanus*, xxii. 1.

Τύλλιον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου σκώπτων ἐρέβινθον ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τὰ γράμματα τὸν τεχνίτην ἐντορεῦσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἱστόρηται.

II. Τεχθῆναι δὲ Κικέρωνα λέγουσιν ἀνωδύνως
καὶ ἀπόνως λοχευθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμέρᾳ
τρίτῃ τῶν νέων Καλανδῶν, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες
εὔχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τῇ δὲ
τίτθῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς
2 ὄφελος μέγα πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτρεφούσῃ. ταῦτα
δὲ ἄλλως ὀνείρατα καὶ φλύαρον εἶναι δοκοῦντα
ταχέως αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε μαντείαν ἀληθινὴν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ
τοῦ μανθάνειν γενόμενος, δι᾽ εὐφυΐαν ἐκλάμψας
καὶ λαβὼν ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς παισίν,
ὥστε τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις
ὄψει τε βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα
καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς μαθήσεις
ὀξύτητα καὶ σύνεσιν ἱστορῆσαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀγροικοτέρους
ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς υἱέσιν ὁρῶντας ἐν ταῖς
ὁδοῖς τὸν Κικέρωνα μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ λαμβάνοντας.
3 γενόμενος δ᾽, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἀξιοῖ
τὴν φιλομαθῆ καὶ φιλόσοφον φύσιν, οἷος ἀσπάζεσθαι
πᾶν μάθημα καὶ μηδὲν λόγου μηδὲ παιδείας
ἀτιμάζειν εἶδος, ἐρρύη πως προθυμότερον ἐπὶ
ποιητικήν. καί τι καὶ ποιημάτιον ἔτι παιδὸς
αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετρα-

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[1] January 3, 106 B.C. Plutarch follows the Greek method of reckoning from a fixed point in the month. Cicero says (ante diem) III. Nonas Januarias (*ad Att.* xiii. 42, 2), the

Marcus and the Tullius, but instead of the third, by way of jest, he ordered the artificer to engrave a chick-pea in due sequence. This, then, is what is told about his name.

II. It is said that Cicero was born, without travail or pain on the part of his mother, on the third day of the new Calends,[1] the day on which at the present time the magistrates offer sacrifices and prayers for the health of the emperor. It would seem also that a phantom appeared to his nurse and foretold that her charge would be a great blessing to all the Romans. And although these presages were thought to be mere dreams and idle fancies, he soon showed them to be true prophecy; for when he was of an age for taking lessons, his natural talent shone out clear and he won name and fame among the boys, so that their fathers used to visit the schools in order to see Cicero with their own eyes and observe the quickness and intelligence in his studies for which he was extolled, though the ruder ones among them were angry at their sons when they saw them walking with Cicero placed in their midst as a mark of honour. And although he showed himself, as Plato[2] thought a nature should do which was fond of learning and fond of wisdom, capable of welcoming all knowledge and incapable of slighting any kind of literature or training, he lent himself with somewhat greater ardour to the art of poetry. And a little poem which he wrote when a boy is still extant, called Pontius Glaucus,

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Nones being the fifth of January. Strictly speaking, only the first day of the month was called the Calends, but Plutarch seems to call the opening days of the new official year "the new Calends."

[2] *Republic*, p. 475 b.

μέτρῳ πεποιημένον. προϊὼν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ
ποικιλώτερον ἁπτόμενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης,
ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος
4 εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα
μέχρι νῦν διαμένει, καίπερ οὐ μικρᾶς γεγενημένης
περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας, τὴν δὲ
ποιητικὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυῶν ἐπιγενομένων,
παντάπασιν ἀκλεῆ καὶ ἄτιμον ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν.

III. Ἀπαλλαγεὶς δὲ τῶν ἐν παισὶ διατριβῶν
Φίλωνος ἤκουσε τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας, ὃν μάλιστα
Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Κλειτομάχου συνήθων καὶ διὰ τὸν
λόγον ἐθαύμασαν καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἠγάπησαν.
ἅμα δὲ τοῖς περὶ Μούκιον ἀνδράσι συνὼν πολιτικοῖς 862
καὶ πρωτεύουσι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐμπειρίαν
τῶν νόμων ὠφελεῖτο· καί τινα χρόνον καὶ στρατείας
μετέσχεν ὑπὸ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν
2 πόλεμον. εἶθ' ὁρῶν εἰς στάσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς στάσεως
εἰς ἄκρατον ἐμπίπτοντα τὰ πράγματα
μοναρχίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν σχολαστὴν καὶ θεωρητικὸν
ἐλθὼν βίον Ἕλλησι συνῆν φιλολόγοις καὶ προσεῖχε
τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἄχρι οὗ Σύλλας ἐκράτησε
καὶ κατάστασίν τινα λαμβάνειν ἔδοξεν ἡ πόλις.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Χρυσόγονος ἀπελεύθερος
Σύλλα προσαγγείλας τινὸς οὐσίαν ὡς ἐκ
προγραφῆς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο δισχιλίων
3 δραχμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥώσκιος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ
κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἠγανάκτει καὶ τὴν

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[1] 90-88 B.C. It was under Pompey, however, that Cicero served (*Phil.* xii. 11, 27). [2] In 82 B.C.

and composed in tetrameter verse. Moreover, as he grew older and applied himself with greater versatility to such accomplishments, he got the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet among the Romans. His fame for oratory abides to this day, although there have been great innovations in style; but his poetry, since many gifted poets have followed him, has altogether fallen into neglect and disrepute.

III. After he had finished the studies of boyhood, he attended the lectures of Philon the Academic, whom, above all the other disciples of Cleitomachus, the Romans admired for his eloquence and loved for his character. At the same time he consorted with Mucius Scaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate, and was helped by him to an acquaintance with the law; and for a little while he also did military service under Sulla in the war against the Marsians.[1] Then, seeing that the commonwealth was hurrying into factions, and from factions into unlimited monarchy, he betook himself to a retired and contemplative life, associated with Greek scholars, and pursued his studies, until Sulla got the mastery and the state appeared to be somewhat settled.[2]

About this time Chrysogonus, a freedman of Sulla's, put up at public auction the estate of a man who, as it was said, had been put to death under proscription, and bought it in himself for two thousand drachmas.[3] Then Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, was indignant and set

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[3] In translating Cicero's "duobus millibus nummum," Plutarch erroneously reckons in denarii (which were equivalent to drachmas, or francs) instead of in sestertii (worth only one-quarter as much).

οὐσίαν ἀπεδείκνυε πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων
ταλάντων οὖσαν ἀξίαν, ὅ τε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος
ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπῆγε τῷ
Ῥωσκίῳ, τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβοήθει
δ' οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν
4 χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες, οὕτω δὴ δι' ἐρημίαν τοῦ
μειρακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφυγόντος οἱ φίλοι
συμπαρώρμων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν
αὖθις ἀρχὴν πρὸς δόξαν ἑτέραν οὐδὲ καλλίω
γενησομένην. ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν
καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη· δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν Σύλλαν
ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διασπείρας
λόγον ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεομένου.
5 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ἰσχνὸς καὶ ἄσαρκος, ἀρρωστίᾳ
στομάχου μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα μόγις ὀψὲ τῆς
ὥρας προσφερόμενος· ἡ δὲ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ
ἀγαθή, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπλαστος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ
λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἔχοντος ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν
ἄνω τόνων ἐλαυνομένη φόβον παρεῖχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
σώματος.

IV. Ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε, τῇ μὲν εὐροίᾳ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἃ δ' ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐνεωτέριζεν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐξίστατο τῆς νέας λεγομένης Ἀκαδημείας ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τὴν Καρνεάδου στάσιν ἐγκατέλειπεν, εἴτε καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἴτε, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διαφορᾷ

forth clearly that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents, whereupon Sulla, enraged to have his actions called in question, indicted Roscius for the murder of his father, Chrysogonus having trumped up the evidence. No advocate would help Roscius, but all avoided him through their fear of Sulla's cruelty, and so at last, in his destitution, the young man had recourse to Cicero. Cicero's friends encouraged him to undertake the case, arguing that he would never again have a more brilliant or a more honourable opportunity to win fame. Accordingly, he undertook the defence of Roscius,[1] won his cause, and men admired him for it; but fearing Sulla, he made a journey to Greece, after spreading a report that his health needed attention. For in fact he was spare and lean, and owing to a weakness of the stomach could only with difficulty take a little light food late in the day; his voice, however, was full and strong, but harsh and unmodulated, and since, owing to the vehemence and passion of his oratory, it was always forced into the higher tones, it made men apprehensive for his health.

IV. On coming to Athens he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, and was charmed by his fluency and grace of diction, although he disapproved of his innovations in doctrine. For Antiochus had already fallen away from what was called the New Academy and abandoned the sect of Carneades, either moved thereto by the clear evidence of the sense-perceptions,[2] or, as some say, led by a feeling of ambitious opposition to

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[1] See the oration *pro Roscio Amerino.*

[2] This the New Academy refused to admit.

πρὸς τοὺς Κλειτομάχου καὶ Φίλωνος συνήθεις
τὸν Στωϊκὸν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπεύων λόγον ἐν
2 τοῖς πλείστοις. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκεῖνα ἠγάπα
κἀκείνοις προσεῖχε μᾶλλον, διανοούμενος, εἰ
παντάπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν,
δεῦρο μετενεγκάμενος τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας
καταζῆν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ Σύλλας τε προσηγγέλθη τεθνηκώς,
καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀναρρωννύμενον
εἰς ἕξιν ἐβάδιζε νεανικήν, ἥ τε φωνὴ λαμβάνουσα
πλάσιν ἡδεῖα μὲν πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἐτέθραπτο,[1]
μετρίως δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν ἥρμοστο τοῦ σώματος,
πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης φίλων γραφόντων
καὶ δεομένων, πολλὰ δ' Ἀντιόχου παρακελευομένου
τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγμασιν, αὖθις
ὥσπερ ὄργανον ἐξηρτύετο[2] τὸν ῥητορικὸν λόγον
καὶ ἀνεκίνει τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, αὐτόν τε
ταῖς μελέταις διαπονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους
4 μετιὼν ῥήτορας. ὅθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ῥόδον
ἔπλευσε, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀσιανῶν ῥητόρων Ξενοκλεῖ
τῷ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ
Μενίππῳ τῷ Καρὶ συνεσχόλασεν, ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ
ῥήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Μόλωνος, φιλοσόφῳ
δὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐ
συνιέντα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον δεηθῆναι τοῦ
Κικέρωνος Ἑλληνιστὶ μελετῆσαι· τὸν δ' ὑπακοῦσαι
προθύμως, οἰόμενον οὕτως ἔσεσθαι βελτίονα

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[1] ἐτέθραπτο the words καὶ πολλή (*and full*) which follow this verb in the MSS. are deleted by Gudeman as contradictory to iii. 5 and due to the double πολλὰ below.

[2] ἐξηρτύετο Graux, after Madvig: ἐξήρτυε.

the disciples of Cleitomachus and Philon to change his views and cultivate in most cases the doctrine of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the systems which Antiochus discarded and devoted himself the rather to them, purposing, in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy.

But word was now brought to him that Sulla was dead,[1] and since his body, strengthened by exercise, was taking on a vigorous habit, while his voice, acquiring modulation, had grown pleasant to the ear, and had been moderated into keeping with the habit of his body; and since, moreover, his friends at Rome earnestly besought him by letter and Antiochus strongly urged him to apply himself to public affairs, he once more sought to prepare for service therein his instrument, as it were, to wit his rhetorical style, and to rouse to action his political powers, diligently cultivating himself in declamation and taking lessons of the popular rhetoricians. With this end in view he made a voyage to Asia and Rhodes. In Asia, he studied oratory with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus the Carian; in Rhodes, oratory with Apollonius the son of Molon, and philosophy with Poseidonius.[2] Apollonius, we are told, not understanding the Roman language, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek, with which request Cicero readily complied, thinking that in this way his faults could

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[1] In 78 B.C.

[2] Cf. Cicero's *Brutus*, 91.

5 τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐμελέτησε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπεπλῆχθαι καὶ διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀπολλώνιον οὔτ᾽ ἀκροώμενον αὐτοῦ διαχυθῆναι καὶ παυσαμένου σύννουν καθέζεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀχθομένου δὲ 863 τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπεῖν· "Σὲ μέν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτείρω τὴν τύχην, ὁρῶν, ἃ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα, παιδείαν καὶ λόγον."

V. Ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων ἐλπίδων μεστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φερόμενος ὑπὸ χρησμοῦ τινος ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὁρμήν. ἐρομένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ὅπως ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο, προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βίου. 2 καὶ τόν γε πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ χρόνον εὐλαβῶς διῆγε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὀκνηρῶς προσῄει καὶ παρημελεῖτο, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς βαναυσοτάτοις πρόχειρα καὶ συνήθη ῥήματα, Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικὸς ἀκούων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φύσει φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὸ συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἠρέμα τῷ πρωτείῳ προσῆγεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐξέλαμψε τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διέφερε πολὺ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπ᾽ ἀγορᾶς.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον νοσήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, τοῦτο μὲν

better be corrected. After he had declaimed, his other hearers were astounded and vied with one another in their praises, but Apollonius was not greatly moved while listening to him, and when he had ceased sat for a long time lost in thought; then, since Cicero was distressed at this, he said: "Thee, indeed, O Cicero, I admire and commend; but Greece I pity for her sad fortune, since I see that even the only glories which were left to us, culture and eloquence, are through thee to belong also to the Romans."

V. However, though Cicero, full of hope, was being borne on towards a political career, a certain oracle took the edge from his eager desire. When he inquired, namely, of the god at Delphi how he could become most illustrious, the Pythian priestess enjoined upon him to make his own nature, and not the opinion of the multitude, his guide in life. And so during the first part of his time at Rome[1] he conducted himself with caution, was reluctant to sue for office, and was therefore neglected, being called "Greek" and "Scholar," those names which the low and ignorant classes at Rome were wont to give so readily. But he was naturally ambitious and was urged on by his father and his friends, and so when he gave himself in earnest to the work of an advocate, he did not advance slowly to the primacy, but his fame shone forth at once, and he far surpassed those who strove with him for distinction in the forum.

But it is said that he too, no less than Demosthenes, was weak in his delivery, and therefore

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[1] Cicero returned to Rome in 77 B.C., being in his thirtieth year.

Ῥωσκίῳ τῷ κωμῳδῷ, τοῦτο δ' Αἰσώπῳ τῷ τραγῳδῷ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς. τὸν δ' Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ἱστοροῦσιν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ Θυέστου βουλευόμενον Ἀτρέα, τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινος ἄφνω παραδραμόντος, ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος
4 ὄντα τῷ σκήπτρῳ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν. οὐ μικρὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ῥοπὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι. καὶ τούς γε τῷ βοᾶν μεγάλα χρωμένους[1] ῥήτορας ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ὥσπερ χωλοὺς ἐφ' ἵππον πηδᾶν. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην εὐτραπελία δικανικὸν μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ γλαφυρόν, χρώμενος δ' αὐτῇ κατακόρως πολλοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοηθείας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν.

VI. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ταμίας ἐν σιτοδείᾳ καὶ λαχὼν Σικελίαν ἠνώχλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀρχῇ σῖτον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν ἀναγκαζομένοις. ὕστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πρᾳότητος αὐτοῦ πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες ὡς
2 οὐδένα τῶν πώποθ' ἡγεμόνων ἐτίμησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης νέων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γεγονότες καλῶς, αἰτίαν ἔχοντες ἀταξίας καὶ μαλακίας περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Σικελίας, συνεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κικέρων ἐπιφανῶς καὶ περιεποίησεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ῥώμην βαδίζων γελοῖόν τι
3 παθεῖν φησι. συντυχὼν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν

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[1] *μεγάλα χρωμένους* MSS., Sintenis^1, and Bekker ; Sintenis^2 adopts Cobet's *μεγαλαυχουμένους* (*boasting loudly of*) ; *μεγάλα βοᾶν χρωμένους* **Graux** with M^a.

sought with care to imitate now Roscius the comedian, and now Aesop the tragedian. This Aesop, they tell us, was once acting in a theatre the part of Atreus planning to take vengeance on Thyestes, when one of the assistants suddenly ran across the scene, and the actor, losing control of himself in the intensity of his passion, smote him with his sceptre and laid him dead. Now, Cicero's delivery contributed not a little to his persuasive power. Moreover, of those orators who were given to loud shouting he used to say jestingly that they were led by their weakness to resort to clamour as cripples were to mount upon a horse. And his readiness to indulge in such jests and pleasantry was thought indeed to be a pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but he carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious.

VI. He was appointed quaestor[1] at a time when grain was scarce, and had the province of Sicily allotted to him, where he annoyed people at first by compelling them to send grain to Rome. But afterwards they found him careful, just, and mild, and honoured him beyond any governor they had ever had. Moreover, when large numbers of young men from Rome, of illustrious and noble families, were accused of lack of discipline and courage in the war and sent up for trial to the praetor of Sicily, Cicero pleaded their cause brilliantly and won the day. While he was journeying to Rome, then, highly elated over these successes, he had a laughable experience, as he tells us.[2] In Campania, namely, he

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[1] In 75 B.C.

[2] *Or. pro Plancio*, 26. This was in the succeeding year (74 B.C.).

φίλῳ δοκοῦντι περὶ Καμπανίαν, ἐρέσθαι τίνα δὴ
τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι Ῥω-
μαῖοι καὶ τί φρονοῦσιν, ὡς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης
τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐμπε-
πληκώς· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν· "Ποῦ γὰρ ἦς, ὦ Κικέρων,
4 τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον;" τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθυμῆσαι
παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν
πόλιν ἐμπεσὼν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς
δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν· ὕστερον δὲ λογισμὸν
ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑφεῖλεν, ὡς
πρὸς ἀόριστον πρᾶγμα τὴν δόξαν ἁμιλλώμενος
5 καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἔχουσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τό γε χαίρειν ἐπαινούμενον διαφερόντως καὶ πρὸς
δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχειν ἄχρι παντὸς αὐτῷ
παρέμεινε καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις τῶν ὀρθῶν
ἐπετάραξε λογισμῶν.

VII. Ἁπτόμενος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας προθυμό-
τερον, αἰσχρὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν βαναύσους ὀργά-
νοις χρωμένους καὶ σκεύεσιν ἀψύχοις μηδενὸς
ἀγνοεῖν ὄνομα μηδὲ χώραν ἢ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τὸν 864
δὲ πολιτικόν, ᾧ δι' ἀνθρώπων αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις
περαίνονται, ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὴν
2 τῶν πολιτῶν γνῶσιν. ὅθεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀνομά-
των εἴθιζε μνημονεύειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπον ἐν
ᾧ τῶν γνωρίμων ἕκαστος οἰκεῖ, καὶ χωρίον οὗ
κέκτηται, καὶ φίλους οἷς τισι χρῆται, καὶ γείτονας
ἐγίνωσκε· καὶ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν Ἰταλίας διαπορευο-
μένῳ Κικέρωνι πρόχειρον ἦν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι
τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις.

3 Οὐσίαν δὲ μικρὰν μέν, ἱκανὴν δὲ καὶ ταῖς
δαπάναις ἐπαρκῆ κεκτημένος ἐθαυμάζετο μήτε

fell in with an eminent man whom he deemed his friend, and asked him what the Romans were saying and thinking about his achievements, supposing that he had filled the whole city with the name and fame of them; but his friend said: "Where, pray, have you been, Cicero, all this while?" At that time, then, as he tells us, he was altogether disheartened, seeing that the story of his doings had sunk into the city as into a bottomless sea, without any visible effect upon his reputation; but afterwards he reasoned with himself and abated much of his ambition, convinced that the fame towards which he was emulously struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no tangible limit. However, his excessive delight in the praise of others and his too passionate desire for glory remained with him until the very end, and very often confounded his saner reasonings.

VII. And now that he was engaging in public life with greater ardour, he considered it a shameful thing that while craftsmen, using vessels and instruments that are lifeless, know the name and place and capacity of every one of them, the statesman, on the contrary, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are men, should be indifferent and careless about knowing his fellow-citizens. Wherefore he not only accustomed himself to remember their names, but also learned to know the quarter of the city in which every notable person dwelt, where he owned a country-place, what friends he had, and what neighbours; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, it was easy for him to name and point out the estates and villas of his friends.

His property, though sufficient to meet his expenses, was nevertheless small, and therefore men

μισθοὺς μήτε δῶρα προσιέμενος ἀπὸ τῆς συνη-
γορίας, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὅτε τὴν κατὰ Βέρρου δίκην
ἀνέλαβε. τοῦτον γὰρ στρατηγὸν γεγονότα τῆς
Σικελίας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηρευμένον τῶν Σικε-
λιωτῶν διωκόντων εἷλεν, οὐκ εἰπών, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ
4 αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ μὴ εἰπεῖν. τῶν γὰρ στρα-
τηγῶν τῷ Βέρρῃ χαριζομένων καὶ τὴν δίκην
ὑπερθέσεσι καὶ διακρούσεσι πολλαῖς εἰς τὴν
ὑστάτην ἐκβαλλόντων, ὡς ἦν πρόδηλον ὅτι τοῖς
λόγοις ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει χρόνος οὐδὲ
λήψεται πέρας ἡ κρίσις, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη
μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπαγαγὼν τοὺς μάρτυρας
καὶ ἐπικρίνας ἐκέλευσε φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον τοὺς
δικαστάς. ὅμως δὲ πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμνημονεύ-
5 εται καὶ περὶ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην. βέρρην
γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκτετμημένον χοῖρον καλοῦ-
σιν. ὡς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ
ἰουδαΐζειν, ὄνομα Κεκίλιος, ἐβούλετο παρωσάμε-
νος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου "Τί
Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον;" ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων. ἦν δὲ
τῷ Βέρρῃ ἀντίπαις υἱός, οὐκ ἐλευθερίως δοκῶν
προΐστασθαι τῆς ὥρας. λοιδορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κικέ-
ρων εἰς μαλακίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βέρρου, "Τοῖς υἱοῖς,"
6 εἶπεν, "ἐντὸς θυρῶν δεῖ λοιδορεῖσθαι." τοῦ δὲ
ῥήτορος Ὁρτησίου τὴν μὲν εὐθεῖαν τῷ Βέρρῃ
συνειπεῖν μὴ τολμήσαντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμήματι
πεισθέντος παραγενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντος ἐλεφαν-

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[1] That is, the last day on which the case could be tried during that year. The city praetor already elected for the coming year (69 B.C.) favoured Verres, and Hortensius, the advocate of Verres, was to be consul in that year. He

wondered that he would accept neither fees nor gifts for his services as advocate, and above all when he undertook the prosecution of Verres. This man, who had been praetor of Sicily, and whom the Sicilians prosecuted for many villainous acts, Cicero convicted, not by speaking, but, in a way, by actually not speaking. For the praetors favoured Verres, and by many obstacles and delays had put off the case until the very last day,[1] since it was clear that a day's time would not be enough for the speeches of the advocates and so the trial would not be finished. But Cicero rose and said there was no need of speeches,[2] and then brought up and examined his witnesses and bade the jurors cast their votes. Nevertheless, many witty sayings of his in connection with this trial are on record. For instance, "verres" is the Roman word for a castrated *porker*; when, accordingly, a freedman named Caecilius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: "What has a Jew to do with a Verres?" Moreover, Verres had a young son, who had the name of lending himself to base practices. Accordingly, when Cicero was reviled by Verres for effeminacy, "You ought," said he, "to revile your sons at home." And again, the orator Hortensius did not venture to plead the cause of Verres directly, but was persuaded to appear for him at the assessment of the fine, and received an ivory

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therefore used every artifice to delay the case. See Cicero, *in Verrem*, i. 10, 31 ff.

[2] Of the seven orations against Verres (including the *Divinatio in Caecilium*) only the first two were delivered; the others were compiled after the verdict had been pronounced.

τίνην Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἶπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, "Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας," ἔφη,[1] "τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις."

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Βέρρου καταδικασθέντος, ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε μυριάδων τιμησάμενος τὴν δίκην ὁ Κικέρων διαβολὴν ἔσχεν ὡς ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ τὸ τίμημα καθυφειμένος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Σικελιῶται χάριν εἰδότες ἀγορανομοῦντος αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰ δὲ φέροντες ἧκον, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο κέρδος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπευωνίσαι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

2 Ἐκέκτητο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἄρποις, καὶ
περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἦν ἀγρὸς καὶ περὶ Πομπηΐους
ἕτερος, οὐ μεγάλοι· φερνή τε Τερεντίας τῆς γυ-
ναικὸς προσεγένετο μυριάδων δέκα, καὶ κληρονο-
μία τις εἰς ἐννέα δηναρίων συναχθεῖσα μυριάδας.
ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγε
μετὰ τῶν συμβιούντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων
φιλολόγων, σπάνιον, εἴ ποτε, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου
κατακλινόμενος, οὐχ οὕτω δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς διὰ
3 τὸ σῶμα τῷ στομάχῳ μοχθηρῶς διακείμενον. ἦν
δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν ἀκρι-
βὴς καὶ περιττός, ὥστε καὶ τρίψεσι καὶ περιπά-
τοις ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοις χρῆσθαι. τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον διαπαιδαγωγῶν τὴν ἕξιν ἄνοσον καὶ
διαρκῆ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγαλους ἀγῶνας καὶ
πόνους συνεῖχεν. οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρῴαν τῷ
ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ' ᾤκει περὶ τὸ
Παλάτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μακρὰν βαδίζοντας ἐνο-

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[1] οἰκίας, ἔφη, τὴν Graux with M^{a} : οἰκίας τήν.

sphinx as his reward; and when Cicero made some oblique reference to him and Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles, "And yet," said Cicero, "thou hast the Sphinx at thy house."

VIII. When Verres had thus been convicted, Cicero assessed his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand denarii,[1] and was therefore accused of having been bribed to make the fine a low one. The Sicilians, however, were grateful to him, and when he was aedile brought him from their island all sorts of live stock and produce; from these he derived no personal profit, but used the generosity of the islanders only to lower the price of provisions.

He owned a pleasant country-seat at Arpinum, and had a farm near Naples and another near Pompeii, both small. His wife Terentia brought him besides a dowry of a hundred thousand denarii, and he received a bequest which amounted to ninety thousand. From these he lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner, with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates. He rarely, if ever, came to table before sunset, not so much on account of business, as because his stomach kept him in poor health. In other ways, too, he was exact and over-scrupulous in the care of his body, so that he actually took a set number of rubbings and walks. By carefully managing his health in this way he kept it free from sickness and able to meet the demands of many great struggles and toils. The house which had been his father's he made over to his brother, and dwelt himself near the Palatine hill,[2] in order that those who came to pay their court to

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[1] See the note on iii. 2.

[2] In a house purchased after his consulship (*ad fam.* v. 6, 2).

4 *χλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτόν. ἐθεράπευον
δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας φοιτῶντες οὐκ ἐλάττονες
ἢ Κράσσον ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ Πομπήϊον διὰ* 865
*τὴν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι δύναμιν, θαυμαζομένους
μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων καὶ μεγίστους ὄντας. Πομπήϊος
δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μεγάλα
πρὸς δύναμιν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἡ Κικέρωνος συνέπραξε
πολιτεία.*

IX. *Στρατηγίαν δὲ μετιόντων ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ
πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πρῶτος ἁπάντων ἀνηγορεύθη·
καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς
βραβεῦσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λικίννιος Μάκερ,
ἀνὴρ καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχύων ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγα
καὶ Κράσσῳ χρώμενος βοηθῷ, κρινόμενος κλοπῆς
ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ,*[1] *τῇ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ πεποιθώς,*
2 *ἔτι τὴν ψῆφον τῶν κριτῶν διαφερόντων ἀπαλλαγεὶς
οἴκαδε κείρασθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ
τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ὡς νενικηκὼς λαβὼν
αὖθις εἰς ἀγορὰν προϊέναι· τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου περὶ
τὴν αὔλειον ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ φράσαντος
ὅτι πάσαις ἑάλωκε ταῖς ψήφοις, ἀναστρέψας καὶ*
3 *κατακλινεὶς ἀποθανεῖν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέρωνι
δόξαν ἤνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ
δικαστήριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐατίνιος, ἀνὴρ ἔχων τι
τραχὺ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀλίγωρον ἐν ταῖς
συνηγορίαις, χοιράδων δὲ τὸν τράχηλον περίπλεως,
ᾐτεῖτό τι καταστὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος,*

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[1] *ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ* Cobet's correction of the MS. *ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ*, adopted by Sintenis^2. So Graux with M^a.

him might not have the trouble of a long walk.[1] And men came to his house every day to pay him court, no fewer than came to Crassus for his wealth or to Pompey because of his influence with the soldiery, and these were the two greatest men among the Romans and the most admired. Nay, Pompey actually paid court to Cicero, and Cicero's political efforts contributed much towards Pompey's power and fame.

IX. Although many men of importance stood for the praetorship along with Cicero, he was appointed first of them all;[2] and men thought that he managed the cases which came before him with integrity and fairness. It is said, too, that Licinius Macer, a man who had great power in the city on his own account and also enjoyed the help of Crassus, was tried before Cicero for fraud, and that, relying upon his influence and the efforts made in his behalf, he went off home while the jurors were still voting, hastily trimmed his hair and put on a white toga in the belief that he had been acquitted, and was going forth again to the forum; but Crassus met him at the house-door and told him that he had been convicted unanimously, whereupon he turned back, lay down upon his bed, and died. And the case brought Cicero the reputation of having been a scrupulous presiding officer. Again, there was Vatinius, a man who had a harsh manner and one which showed contempt for the magistrates before whom he pleaded; his neck also was covered with swellings. As this man once stood at Cicero's tribunal and made some request of him,

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[1] Cf. the *Marius*, xxxii. 1.

[2] In 66 B.C. Eight praetors were appointed, and the one who received most votes was made city praetor, or chief magistrate.

καὶ μὴ διδόντος, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένου πολὺν χρόνον, εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς διστάσειε περὶ τούτου στρατηγῶν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Κικέρων, "'Αλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔχω τηλικοῦτον τράχηλον."

4 *Ἔτι δ' ἡμέρας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ προσήγαγέ τις Μανίλιον εὐθύνων κλοπῆς. ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος οὗτος εὔνοιαν εἶχε καὶ σπουδὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δοκῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ Πομπήϊον· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἦν φίλος. αἰτουμένου δ' ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ μίαν ὁ Κικέρων μόνην τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησεν εἰθισμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν δέκα τοὐλάχιστον ἡμέρας διδόναι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι.* 5 *τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐτὸν διαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ κατηγορούντων, ἀκουσθῆναι δεηθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν ἀεί, καθ' ὅσον οἱ νόμοι παρείκουσι, κεχρημένος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο τῷ Μανιλίῳ ταῦτα μὴ παρασχεῖν· ἧς οὖν ἔτι μόνης κύριος ἦν ἡμέρας στρατηγῶν, ταύτην ἐπίτηδες ὁρίσαι· τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλον ἄρχοντα τὴν κρίσιν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ εἶναι βουλομένου βοηθεῖν.* 6 *ταῦτα λεχθέντα θαυμαστὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ δήμου μεταβολήν· καὶ πολλὰ κατευφημοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐδέοντο τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανιλίου συνηγορίαν ἀναλαβεῖν. ὁ δ' ὑπέστη προθύμως, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ Πομπήϊον ἀπόντα· καὶ καταστὰς πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐδημηγόρησε, νεανικῶς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ τῷ Πομπηΐῳ φθονούντων καθαπτόμενος.*

X. *'Επὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐχ ἧττον ὑπὸ τῶν*

Cicero did not grant it at once, but took a long time for deliberation, whereupon Vatinius said that he himself would not have stuck at the matter had he been praetor. At this Cicero turned upon him and said: "But I have not the neck that you have."

Two or three days before his term of office expired, Manilius was brought before him on a charge of fraudulent accounting. This Manilius had the good will and eager support of the people, since it was thought that he was prosecuted on Pompey's account, being a friend of his. On his demanding several days in which to make his defence, Cicero granted him only one, and that the next; and the people were indignant because it was customary for the praetor to grant ten days at least to the accused. And when the tribunes brought Cicero to the rostra and denounced him, he begged for a hearing, and then said that he had always treated defendants, so far as the laws allowed, with clemency and kindness, and thought it an unfortunate thing that Manilius should not have this advantage; wherefore, since only one day was left to his disposal as praetor, he had purposely set this day for the trial, and surely it was not the part of one who wished to help Manilius to defer it to another praetor's term. These words produced a wonderful change in the feelings of the people, and with many expressions of approval they begged Cicero to assume the defence of Manilius. This he willingly consented to do, chiefly for the sake of Pompey, who was absent, and once more mounting the rostra harangued the people anew, vigorously attacking the oligarchical party and those who were jealous of Pompey.

X. Yet he was advanced to the consulship no less

ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν προήχθη διὰ τὴν
πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτῷ τοιαύτης συναγωνισαμένων.
τῆς ὑπὸ Σύλλα γενομένης μεταβολῆς περὶ τὴν
πολιτείαν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀτόπου φανείσης, τότε δὲ
τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἤδη τινὰ
κατάστασιν ἔχειν οὐ φαύλην δοκούσης, ἦσαν οἱ
τὰ παρόντα διασεῖσαι καὶ μεταθεῖναι ζητοῦντες
ἰδίων ἕνεκα πλεονεξιῶν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον,
Πομπηΐου μὲν ἔτι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ
Ἀρμενίᾳ πολεμοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μηδεμιᾶς
ὑφεστώσης πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας ἀξιομάχου
2 δυνάμεως. οὗτοι κορυφαῖον εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν
καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος,
Λεύκιον Κατιλίναν, ὃς αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις
ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι
θυγατρί, κτεῖναι δ’ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ 866
τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἔπεισε Σύλλαν ὡς ἔτι ζῶντα
τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι.
3 τοῦτον οὖν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες ἄλλας
τε πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες
ἄνθρωπον ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. διέφθαρτο δ’
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος,
ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας ἀεὶ προξενοῦντος
ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην
ἀφειδῶς παρασκευάζοντος. ἐπῆρτο δ’ ἥ τε Τυρρηνία
πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὅλη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς
4 ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας. ἐπισφαλέστατα δ’
ἡ Ῥώμη πρὸς μεταβολὴν εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς

by the aristocrats than by the common people, and in the interests of the city, both parties seconding his efforts for the following reasons. The change which Sulla had made in the constitution at first appeared absurd, but now it seemed to the majority, owing to lapse of time and their familiarity with it, to afford at last a kind of settlement which was not to be despised. There were those, however, who sought to agitate and change the existing status for the sake of their own gain, and not for the best interests of the state, while Pompey was still carrying on war with the kings in Pontus and Armenia, and there was no power in Rome which was able to cope with the revolutionaries. These had for their chief a man of bold, enterprising, and versatile character, Lucius Catiline, who, in addition to other great crimes, had once been accused of deflowering his own daughter and of killing his own brother; and fearing prosecution for this murder, he persuaded Sulla to put his brother's name, as though he were still alive, in the list of those who were to be put to death under proscription.[1] Taking this man, then, as their leader, the miscreants gave various pledges to one another, one of which was the sacrifice of a man and the tasting of his flesh.[2] Moreover, Catiline had corrupted a large part of the young men in the city, supplying each of them continually with amusements, banquets, and amours, and furnishing without stint the money to spend on these things. Besides, all Etruria was roused to revolt, as well as most of Cisalpine Gaul. And Rome was most dangerously disposed towards change on account of the

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[1] Cf. the *Sulla*, xxxii. 2.

[2] Cf. Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* xxxvii. 30, 3.

οὐσίαις ἀνωμαλίαν, τῶν μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ
φρονήματι κατεπτωχευμένων εἰς θέατρα καὶ δεῖπνα
καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ οἰκοδομίας, τῶν δὲ πλούτων
εἰς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς συνερρυηκότων
ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα
καὶ παντὸς εἶναι τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐκστῆσαι
τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς νοσοῦσαν.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ὁ Κατιλίνας
ἰσχυρόν τι προκαταλαβεῖν ὁρμητήριον ὑπατείαν
μετῄει· καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὡς Γαΐῳ
Ἀντωνίῳ συνυπατεύσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν
οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἡγεμονικῷ,
προσθήκῃ δ' ἄγοντος ἑτέρου δυνάμεως
2 ἐσομένῳ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν οἱ
πλεῖστοι προαισθόμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα προῆγον
ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν· καὶ τοῦ δήμου δεξαμένου προθύμως
ὁ μὲν Κατιλίνας ἐξέπεσε, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ
Γάϊος Ἀντώνιος ᾑρέθησαν. καίτοι τῶν μετιόντων
ὁ Κικέρων μόνος ἦν ἐξ ἱππικοῦ πατρός, οὐ
βουλευτοῦ, γεγονώς.

XII. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Κατιλίναν ἔμελλεν ἔτι
τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνοντα, προάγωνες δὲ μεγάλοι
τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν ἐξεδέξαντο. τοῦτο μὲν
γὰρ οἱ κεκωλυμένοι κατὰ τοὺς Σύλλα νόμους
ἄρχειν, οὔτ' ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οὔτ' ὀλίγοι, μετιόντες
ἀρχὰς ἐδημαγώγουν, πολλὰ τῆς Σύλλα τυραννίδος
ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δίκαια κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ
μὴν ἐν δέοντι τὴν πολιτείαν οὐδὲ σὺν καιρῷ
2 κινοῦντες· τοῦτο δὲ νόμους εἰσῆγον οἱ δήμαρχοι

irregularity in the distribution of property, since men of the highest reputation and spirit had beggared themselves on shows, feasts, pursuit of office, and buildings, and riches had streamed into the coffers of low-born and mean men, so that matters needed only a slight impulse to disturb them, and it was in the power of any bold man to overthrow the commonwealth, which of itself was in a diseased condition.

XI. However, Catiline wished to obtain first a strong base of operations, and therefore sued for the consulship; and he had bright hopes that he would share the consulship with Caius Antonius, a man who, of himself, would probably not take the lead either for good or for bad, but would add strength to another who took the lead. Most of the better class of citizens were aware of this, and therefore put forward Cicero for the consulship, and as the people readily accepted him, Catiline was defeated, and Cicero and Caius Antonius were elected.[1] And yet Cicero was the only one of the candidates who was the son, not of a senator, but of a knight.

XII. The schemes of Catiline were still to remain concealed from the multitude, but great preliminary struggles awaited the consulship of Cicero. For, in the first place, those who were prevented from holding office by the laws of Sulla, and they were neither few nor weak, sued for offices and tried to win the favour of the people, making many charges against the tyranny of Sulla which were just and true, indeed, but disturbing the government at an improper and unseasonable time; and, in the second place, the tribunes were introducing

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[1] For the year 63 B.C.

πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, δεκαδαρχίαν καθιστάντες αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἐφεῖτο πάσης μὲν Ἰταλίας, πάσης δὲ Συρίας, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Πομπηΐου νεωστὶ προσώριστο κυρίους ὄντας πωλεῖν τὰ δημόσια, κρίνειν οὓς δοκοίη, φυγάδας ἐκβάλλειν, συνοικίζειν πόλεις, χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου, στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ καταλέγειν
3 *ὁπόσων δέοιντο. διὸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσεῖχον ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συνάρχων ὡς τῶν δέκα γενησόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Κατιλίνα νεωτερισμὸν εἰδὼς οὐ δυσχεραίνειν ὑπὸ πλήθους δανείων· ὃ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον παρεῖχε.*

4 *Καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον θεραπεύων ὁ Κικερων ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Μακεδονίαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρῃτήσατο, καὶ κατειργάσατο τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ ὑποκριτὴν ἔμμισθον αὐτῷ τὰ δεύτερα λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ὡς δ' οὗτος ἑαλώκει καὶ χειροήθης ἐγεγόνει, μᾶλλον ἤδη θαρρῶν ὁ*
5 *Κικέρων ἐνίστατο πρὸς τοὺς καινοτομοῦντας. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορίαν τινὰ τοῦ νόμου διατιθέμενος οὕτως ἐξέπληξεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰσφέροντας ὥστε μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὑποδείσας ὁ Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας καὶ προελθών, οὐ μόνον ἐξέβαλε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογνῶναι τοὺς δημάρχους*

laws to the same purpose, appointing a commission of ten men with unlimited powers, to whom was committed, as supreme masters of all Italy, of all Syria, and of all the territories which Pompey had lately added to the empire, the right to sell the public lands, to try whom they pleased, to send into exile, to settle cities, to take moneys from the public treasury, and to levy and maintain as many soldiers as they wanted. Therefore many of the prominent men also were in favour of the law, and foremost among them Antonius the colleague of Cicero, who expected to be one of the ten. It was thought also that he knew about the conspiracy of Catiline and was not averse to it, owing to the magnitude of his debts; and this was what gave most alarm to the nobles.

This alarm Cicero first sought to allay by getting the province of Macedonia voted to his colleague, while he himself declined the proffered province of Gaul; and by this favour he induced Antonius, like a hired actor, to play the second rôle to him in defence of their country. Then, as soon as Antonius had been caught and was tractable, Cicero opposed himself with more courage to the innovators. Accordingly, he denounced the proposed law in the senate at great length, and so terrified the very promoters of it that they had no reply to make to him. And when they made a second attempt and after full preparation summoned the consuls to appear before the people, Cicero had not the slightest fear, but bidding the senate follow him and leading the way, he not only got the law rejected, but also induced the tribunes to desist

ἐποίησε, παρὰ τοσοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε 86
Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον ἡδονῆς λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστίθησι,
καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀήττητόν ἐστιν ἂν ὀρθῶς
λέγηται, καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον ἀεὶ
τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος
αἱρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ
2 συμφέροντος. δεῖγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον
χάριτος καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θέας ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ
γενόμενον. τῶν γὰρ ἱππικῶν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ
τοῦ δήμου θεωμένων ὡς ἔτυχε, πρῶτος διέκρινεν
ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
Μάρκος Ὄθων στρατηγῶν, καὶ διένειμεν ἰδίαν
ἐκείνοις θέαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐξαίρετον ἔχουσι.
3 τοῦτο πρὸς ἀτιμίας ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε, καὶ φανέντος
ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐφυβρίζων ἐσύριττεν, οἱ
δ' ἱππεῖς ὑπέλαβον κρότῳ τὸν ἄνδρα λαμπρῶς.
αὖθις δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐπέτεινε τὸν συριγμόν, εἶτα
ἐκεῖνοι τὸν κρότον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο λοιδορίαις, καὶ τὸ θέατρον
4 ἀκοσμία κατεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἧκε
πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκκαλέσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς
Ἐνυοῦς ἱερὸν ἐπετίμησε καὶ παρῄνεσεν, ἀπελ-

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[1] See the three orations *de Lege Agraria*, which have come down to us almost intact.

from the rest of their measures, so overpowered were they by his eloquence.[1]

XIII. For this man beyond all others showed the Romans how great a charm eloquence adds to the right, and that justice is invincible if it is correctly put in words, and that it behooves the careful statesman always in his acts to choose the right instead of the agreeable, and in his words to take away all vexatious features from what is advantageous. A proof of the charm of his discourse may be found in an incident of his consulship connected with the public spectacles. In earlier times, it seems, the men of the equestrian order were mingled with the multitudes in the theatres and saw the spectacles along with the people, seated as chance would have it; Marcus Otho was the first to separate in point of honour the knights from the rest of the citizens, which he did when he was praetor,[2] and gave them a particular place of their own at the spectacles, which they still retain. The people took this as a mark of dishonour to themselves, and when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him insultingly, while the knights received him with loud applause. The people renewed and increased their hisses, and then the knights their applause. After this they turned upon one another with reviling words, and disorder reigned in the theatre. When Cicero heard of this he came and summoned the people to the temple of Bellona, where he rebuked

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[2] It was in 67 B.C., four years before Cicero's consulship, that Lucius Roscius Otho, as tribune of the people, introduced his law giving the equites a special place at the spectacles, namely, the fourteen rows of seats next those of the senators. The law, however, had only recently been enacted.

θόντες αὖθις εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐκρότουν τὸν Ὄθωνα λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππέας ἅμιλλαν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ ἀνδρός.

XIV. Ἡ *δὲ περὶ τὸν* Κατιλίναν *συνωμοσία πτήξασα καὶ καταδείσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὖθις ἀνεθάρρει, καὶ συνῆγον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρεκάλουν εὐτολμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν* Πομπήϊον *ἤδη λεγόμενον ὑποστρέφειν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν* Κατιλίναν *ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ* Σύλλα *πάλαι στρατιῶται, διαπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς* Ἰταλίας, *πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ταῖς* Τυρρηνικαῖς *ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι πόλεσιν, ἁρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορήσεις πλούτων*
2 *ἑτοίμων ὀνειροπολοῦντες. οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα* Μάλλιον *ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ* Σύλλᾳ *στρατευσαμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ* Κατιλίνᾳ *καὶ παρῆσαν εἰς* Ῥώμην *συναρχαιρεσιάσοντες. ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὖθις μετῄει, βεβουλευμένος ἀνελεῖν τὸν* Κικέρωνα *περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν*
3 *τὸν θόρυβον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς καὶ φάσμασιν. αἱ δ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων μηνύσεις ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, οὔπω δ' εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀποχρῶσαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυναμένου μέγα τοῦ* Κατιλίνα. *διὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὑπερθέμενος ὁ* Κικέρων *ἐκάλει τὸν* Κατιλίναν *εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀνέκρινεν.*
4 *ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς οἰόμενος εἶναι τοὺς πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐφιεμένους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς*

and exhorted them, whereupon they went back again to the theatre and applauded Otho loudly, and vied with the knights in showing him honour and esteem.

XIV. But Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who at first were cowed and terrified, began once more to take courage, and assembling themselves together exhorted one another to take matters in hand more boldly before Pompey came back, and he was said to be now returning with his army. It was the old soldiers of Sulla, however, who were most of all urging Catiline on to action. These were to be found in all parts of Italy, but the greatest numbers and the most warlike of them had been scattered among the cities of Etruria, and were again dreaming of robbing and plundering the wealth that lay ready to hand. These men, I say, with Manlius for a leader, one of the men who had served with distinction under Sulla, associated themselves with Catiline and came to Rome to take part in the consular elections. For Catiline was again a candidate for the consulship, and had determined to kill Cicero in the very tumult of the elections. Moreover, even the heavenly powers seemed, by earthquakes and thunderbolts and apparitions, to foreshow what was coming to pass. And there were also human testimonies which were true, indeed, but not sufficient for the conviction of a man of reputation and great power like Catiline. For this reason Cicero postponed the day of the elections, and summoning Catiline to the senate, examined him concerning what was reported. But Catiline, thinking that there were many in the senate who were desirous of a revolution, and at

συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέ-
ρωνι μανικὴν ἀπόκρισιν· "Τί γάρ," ἔφη, "πράττω
δεινόν, εἰ, δυεῖν σωμάτων ὄντων, τοῦ μὲν ἰσχνοῦ
καὶ κατεφθινηκότος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλήν, τοῦ δ'
ἀκεφάλου μέν, ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ μεγάλου, τούτῳ
5 κεφαλὴν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι;" τούτων εἴς τε τὴν
βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ᾐνιγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλ-
λον ὁ Κικέρων ἔδεισε, καὶ τεθωρακισμένον αὐτὸν
οἵ τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων
πολλοὶ κατήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος
ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινέ τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὤμων
τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ὁρῶσι τὸν κίνδυ-
6 νον. οἱ δ' ἠγανάκτουν καὶ συνεστρέφοντο περὶ
αὐτόν· καὶ τέλος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατιλί-
ναν αὖθις ἐξέβαλον, εἵλοντο δὲ Σιλανὸν ὕπατον
καὶ Μουρήναν.

XV. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον τούτων ἤδη τῷ
Κατιλίνᾳ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνερχομένων καὶ
καταλοχιζομένων, καὶ τῆς ὡρισμένης πρὸς τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγὺς οὔσης, ἧκον ἐπὶ τὴν Κικέ- 868
ρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι
καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ῥωμαίων, Μάρκος τε Κράσσος
καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκηπίων Μέτελλος·
κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν θυ-
ρωρὸν ἐκέλευον ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ φράσαι Κικέρωνι
2 τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τῷ Κράσ-
σῳ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ θυ-
ρωρός, ὑπὸ δή τινος ἀνθρώπου κομισθείσας ἀγνώ-
στου, ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ
Κράσσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. ἣν μόνην ἀναγνοὺς
ὁ Κράσσος, ὡς ἔφραζε τὰ γράμματα φόνον γενη-

the same time making a display of himself to the conspirators, gave Cicero the answer of a madman: "What dreadful thing, pray," said he, "am I doing, if, when there are two bodies, one lean and wasted, but with a head,[1] and the other headless, but strong and large, I myself become a head for this?" Since this riddle of Catiline's referred to the senate and the people, Cicero was all the more alarmed, and he wore a breastplate when all the nobles and many of the young men escorted him from his house to the Campus Martius. Moreover, he purposely allowed the spectators to get a glimpse of his breastplate by loosing his tunic from his shoulders, thus showing them his peril. The people were incensed and rallied about him; and finally, when they voted, they rejected Catiline once more, and elected Silanus and Murena consuls.[2]

XV. Not long after this, when Catiline's soldiers in Etruria were already assembling and forming into companies, and when the day set for their attack was near, there came to the house of Cicero at midnight men who were the leading and most powerful Romans, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus; and knocking at the door and summoning the doorkeeper, they bade him wake Cicero and tell him they were there. Their business was what I shall now relate. After Crassus had dined, his doorkeeper handed him some letters which an unknown man had brought; they were addressed to different persons, and one, which had no signature, was for Crassus himself. Crassus read this letter only, and since its contents told him that

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[1] Unum debile, infirmo capite (Cicero, *pro Murena*, 25, 51).

[2] For the year 62 B.C.

σόμενον πολὺν διὰ Κατιλίνα, καὶ παρῄνει τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθεῖν, τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἧκεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα, πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ, καί τι τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολυόμενος ἣν ἔσχε διὰ φιλίαν τοῦ Κατιλίνα.

3 *Βουλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ βου-
λὴν συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσας ἀπέ-
δωκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπεσταλμέναι, κελεύσας φανερῶς
ἀναγνῶναι. πᾶσαι δ' ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλὴν
φράζουσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος Ἄρριος, ἀνὴρ
στρατηγικός, ἀπήγγελλε τοὺς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ κατα-
λοχισμούς, καὶ Μάλλιος ἀπηγγέλλετο σὺν χειρὶ
μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας αἰωρούμενος ἀεί
4 τι προσδοκᾶν καινὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, γίνεται
δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς παρακατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπά-
τοις τὰ πράγματα, δεξαμένους δ' ἐκείνους ὡς
ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν. τοῦτο
δ' οὐ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι μέγα δείσῃ, ποιεῖν
εἴωθεν ἡ σύγκλητος.*

XVI. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ Κικέρων τὰ μὲν ἔξω πράγματα Κοΐντῳ Μετέλλῳ διεπίστευσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶχε διὰ χειρὸς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προῄει δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολὺ μέρος κατέχειν ἐμβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς παραπέμποντας, οὐκέτι καρτερῶν τὴν μέλλησιν ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον*

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[1] See the *Crassus*, xiii 3. Cicero's treatise on his consulship, there referred to, was written in Greek, and is not extant.

there was to be much bloodshed caused by Catiline, and advised him to escape secretly from the city, he did not open the rest, but came at once to Cicero, terrified by the danger, and seeking to free himself somewhat from charges that had been made against him on account of his friendship for Catiline.[1]

Cicero, accordingly, after deliberation, convened the senate at break of day, and carrying the letters thither gave them to the persons to whom they had been sent, with orders to read them aloud. All the letters alike were found to tell of a plot. And when also Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, brought word of the soldiers who were being mustered into companies in Etruria, and Manlius was reported to be hovering about the cities there with a large force, in constant expectation of some news from Rome, the senate passed a decree that matters should be put in the hands of the consuls, who were to accept the charge and manage as best they knew how for the preservation of the city.[2] Now, the senate is not wont to do this often, but only when it fears some great danger.

XVI. On receiving this power Cicero entrusted matters outside to Quintus Metellus, while he himself kept the city in hand and daily went forth attended by so large a bodyguard that a great part of the forum was occupied when he entered it with his escort. Thereupon Catiline, no longer able to endure the delay, resolved to hasten forth

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[2] Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat (Sallust, *Catiline*, 29); decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 2, 4).

2 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐκέλευσε
ξίφη λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἕωθεν
ὡς ἀσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ διαχρήσασθαι
προσπεσόντας. τοῦτο Φουλβία, γυνὴ τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν, ἐξαγγέλλει τῷ Κικέρωνι, νυκτὸς ἐλθοῦσα
καὶ διακελευσαμένη φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς
περὶ τὸν Κέθηγον. οἱ δ' ἧκον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ
κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ κατεβόων
3 ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι. προελθὼν
δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ
τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι
καλοῦσιν, ἱδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, πρὸς
τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησομένου,
συγκαθίσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν,
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλθον.
ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ τέλος
ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου
δ' ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ
4 τεῖχος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν
μετὰ τριακοσίων ὁπλοφόρων καὶ περιστησάμενος
αὑτῷ ῥαβδουχίας ὡς ἄρχοντι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ
σημαίας ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει·
καὶ δισμυρίων ὁμοῦ τι συνηθροισμένων ἐπῄει τὰς
πόλεις ἀναπείθων καὶ ἀφιστάς, ὥστε τοῦ πολέμου
φανεροῦ γεγονότος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποσταλῆναι
διαμαχούμενον.

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[1] From Cicero's oration *pro Sulla* (6, 18) and Sallust's *Catiline* (28) it appears that the names of these would-be murderers were Caius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius.

to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcius and Cethegus[1] to take their swords and go early in the morning to the house of Cicero on pretence of paying him their respects, and there to fall upon him and dispatch him. This scheme Fulvia, a woman of high rank, made known to Cicero, coming to him by night and urging him to be on his guard against Cethegus and his companion. The men came at break of day, and when they were prevented from entering, they were incensed and made an outcry at the door, which made them the more suspected. Then Cicero went forth and summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stesius (or Stator, as the Romans say), which was situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, as you go up to the Palatine hill. Thither Catiline also came with the rest in order to make his defence; no senator, however, would sit with him, but all moved away from the bench where he was. And when he began to speak he was interrupted by outcries, and at last Cicero rose and ordered him to depart from the city, saying that, since one of them did his work with words and the other with arms, the city-wall must needs lie between them.[2] Catiline, accordingly, left the city at once with three hundred armed followers, assumed the fasces and axes as though he were a magistrate, raised standards, and marched to join Manlius; and since about twenty thousand men altogether had been collected, he marched round to the various cities endeavouring to persuade them to revolt, so that there was now open war, and Antonius was sent off to fight it out.

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[2] Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 5, 10.

XVII. Τοὺς δ' ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα συνῆγε καὶ
παρεθάρρυνε Κορνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπίκλησιν,
ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκὼς δὲ φαύλως
καὶ δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς
πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς
ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν
2 ἀξίωμα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν 869
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σούραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης.
ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων συχνὰ
τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρεν.
ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντος
ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως
πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔφη
διδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κνήμην, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν
3 οἱ παῖδες ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἁμάρτωσιν. ἐκ
τούτου Σούρας παρωνομάσθη· σούραν γὰρ οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν κνήμην λέγουσι. πάλιν δὲ δίκην
ἔχων καὶ διαφθείρας ἐνίους τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐπεὶ
δυσὶ μόναις ἀπέφυγε ψήφοις, ἔφη παρανάλωμα
γεγονέναι τὸ θατέρῳ κριτῇ δοθέν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ εἰ
καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ μόνον ἀπελύθη.

4 Τοῦτον ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτον κεκινημένον
ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα προσδιέφθειραν ἐλπίσι κεναῖς
ψευδομάντεις καὶ γόητες ἔπη πεπλασμένα καὶ
χρησμοὺς ᾄδοντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, προδηλοῦντας
εἱμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κορνηλίους
τρεῖς μονάρχους, ὧν δύο μὲν ἤδη πεπληρωκέναι
τὸ χρεών, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ

XVII. The creatures of Catiline who had been left behind in the city were brought together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of illustrious birth, but one who had led a low life and for his licentiousness had formerly been expelled from the senate, though now he was serving as praetor for the second time, as is the custom with those who have recovered their senatorial dignity. It is said too that he got his surname of Sura for the following reason. In Sulla's time he was quaestor and lost and wasted large amounts of the public moneys. Sulla was angry at this and demanded an accounting from him in the senate, whereupon Lentulus came forward with a very careless and contemptuous air and said that he would not give an account, but would offer his leg, as boys were accustomed to do when they were playing ball and made a miss. On this account he was surnamed Sura, for "sura" is the Roman word for *leg*. At another time, too, he was under prosecution and had bribed some of the jurors, and when he was acquitted by only two votes, he said that what he had given to the second juror was wasted money, since it would have sufficed if he had been acquitted by one vote only.

Such was the nature of this man who had been stirred up by Catiline, and he was further corrupted by vain hopes held out to him by false prophets and jugglers. These recited forged oracles in verse purporting to come from the Sibylline books,[1] which set forth that three Cornelii were fated to be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had already fulfilled their destiny, namely, Cinna and Sulla, and that now to

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 4, 9.

λοιπῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὴν μοναρχίαν
ἥκειν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ δεῖν πάντως δέχεσθαι καὶ
μὴ διαφθείρειν μέλλοντα τοὺς καιρούς, ὥσπερ
Κατιλίνας.

XVIII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενόει μικρὸν ὁ Λέντλος ἢ
ἄσημον, ἀλλ᾿ ἐδέδοκτο τὴν βουλὴν ἅπασαν ἀναι-
ρεῖν τῶν τ᾿ ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσους δύναιτο, τὴν
πόλιν δ᾿ αὐτὴν καταπιμπράναι, φείδεσθαί τε
μηδενὸς ἢ τῶν Πομπηΐου τέκνων· ταῦτα δ᾿ ἐξαρ-
πασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ᾿ αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὅμηρα
τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον διαλύσεων· ἤδη γὰρ ἐφοίτα
πολὺς λόγος καὶ βέβαιος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατιόντος
2 ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας. καὶ νὺξ μὲν ὥριστο
πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν μία τῶν Κρονιάδων, ξίφη δὲ
καὶ στυππεῖα καὶ θεῖον εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες
οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυψαν. ἄνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἑκατὸν
καὶ μέρη τοσαῦτα τῆς Ῥώμης ἕκαστον ἐφ᾿ ἑκά-
στῳ διεκλήρωσαν, ὡς δι᾿ ὀλίγου πολλῶν ἁψάν-
των φλέγοιτο πανταχόθεν ἡ πόλις. ἄλλοι δὲ
τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἔμελλον ἐμφράξαντες ἀποσφάττειν
τοὺς ὑδρευομένους.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες
Ἀλλοβρίγων δύο πρέσβεις, ἔθνους μάλιστα δὴ
τότε πονηρὰ πράττοντος καὶ βαρυνομένου τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν. τούτους οἱ περὶ Λέντλον ὠφελίμους
ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ κινῆσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν
Γαλατίαν ἐποιήσαντο συνωμότας. καὶ γράμματα
μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ βουλήν, γράμματα δὲ
πρὸς Κατιλίναν ἔδοσαν, τῇ μὲν ὑπισχνούμενοι

him, the third and remaining Cornelius, the heavenly powers were come with a proffer of the monarchy, which he must by all means accept, and not ruin his opportunities by delay, like Catiline.

XVIII. Accordingly, it was no trifling or insignificant plan which Lentulus was cherishing, nay, it was decided to kill all the senators and as many of the other citizens as they could, to burn down the city itself, and to spare no one except the children of Pompey; these they were to seize and hold in their own custody and keep as hostages for their reconciliation with Pompey; for already there was current a wide-spread and sure report of his coming back from his great expedition. A night had also been fixed for the attempt, a night of the Saturnalia,[1] and swords, tow, and brimstone had been carried to the house of Cethegus and hidden there. Moreover, they had appointed a hundred men and assigned by lot as many quarters of Rome to each one severally, in order that within a short time many might play the incendiary and the city be everywhere in a blaze. Others, too, were to stop up the aqueducts and kill those who tried to bring water.

But while this was going on, there chanced to be staying at Rome two ambassadors of the Allobroges, a nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway. These men Lentulus and his partisans thought would be useful in stirring up Gaul to revolt, and therefore took them into the conspiracy. They also gave them letters to their senate, and letters to Catiline, making

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[1] At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline the Saturnalia lasted only one day, December 19; in the time of Augustus three days were devoted to them (December 17–19). See the note on *Sulla*, xviii. 5.

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν δὲ Κατιλίναν παρακαλοῦντες
ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς δούλους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
4 ἐλαύνειν. συναπέστελλον δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς
τὸν Κατιλίναν Τίτον τινὰ Κροτωνιάτην, κομίζοντα
τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οἷα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθμήτων
καὶ μετ' οἴνου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν
ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχανόντων βουλεύματα πόνῳ καὶ
λογισμῷ νήφοντι καὶ συνέσει περιττῇ διώκων ὁ
Κικέρων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκοποῦντας
τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ συνεξιχνεύοντας
αὐτῷ, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν μετέχειν δοκούντων τῆς
συνωμοσίας διαλεγόμενος κρύφα καὶ πιστεύων,
5 ἔγνω τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους κοινολογίαν· καὶ
νυκτὸς ἐνεδρεύσας ἔλαβε τὸν Κροτωνιάτην καὶ τὰ
γράμματα, συνεργούντων ἀδήλως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων.

XIX. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ βουλὴν ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ
τῆς Ὁμονοίας ἱερὸν ἐξανέγνω τὰ γράμματα καὶ
τῶν μηνυτῶν διήκουσεν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Σιλανὸς
Ἰούνιος ἀκηκοέναι τινὰς Κεθήγου λέγοντος ὡς
ὕπατοί τε τρεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ τέτταρες ἀναιρεῖσθαι
μέλλουσι. τοιαῦτα δ' ἕτερα καὶ Πείσων,
2 ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, εἰσήγγειλε. Γάϊος δὲ Σουλπίκιος, 87
εἷς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πεμφθεὶς τοῦ
Κεθήγου πολλὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα,
πλεῖστα δὲ ξίφη καὶ μαχαίρας εὗρε νεοθήκτους
ἁπάσας. τέλος δὲ τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ ψηφισαμένης
ἄδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὁ
Λέντλος ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν (στρατηγῶν γὰρ
ἐτύγχανε), καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
καταθέμενος διήλλαξεν ἐσθῆτα τῇ συμφορᾷ πρέ-

the senate promises of freedom and urging Catiline to set the slaves free and march upon Rome. They also sent with them to Catiline a certain Titus of Croton, who was to carry the letters. But the conspirators were unbalanced men who seldom met together without wine and women, while Cicero was following their schemes industriously, with sober judgement and surpassing sagacity; he also had many men outside of their conspiracy who kept watch upon their doings and helped him track them down, and he conferred secretly and confidentially with many who were supposed to belong to the conspiracy; he therefore came to know of their conference with the strangers, and, laying an ambush by night, he seized the man of Croton and his letters with the secret co-operation of the Allobroges.[1]

XIX. At break of day, then, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, read the letters aloud, and examined the informers. Silanus Junius also said that certain ones had heard Cethegus declare that three consuls and four praetors were going to be taken off. Piso, too, a man of consular dignity, brought in other reports of a like nature. Moreover, Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, on being sent to the house of Cethegus, found in it many missiles and weapons, and a huge quantity of swords and knives, all newly sharpened. And finally, after the senate had voted immunity to the man of Croton on condition that he gave information, Lentulus was convicted, resigned his office (he was then praetor), and laying aside his purple-bordered toga in the senate, assumed in its place a garment suitable to his

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 2, 4–6.

πουσαν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρεδό-
θησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
3 Ἤδη δ᾽ ἑσπέρας οὔσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμέ-
νοντος ἀθρόου, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ φράσας
τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ προπεμφθείς, παρ-
ῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιῶντος, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐκεί-
νου γυναῖκες κατεῖχον, ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις ὀργιά-
ζουσαι θεὸν ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Ἀγαθήν, Ἕλληνες δὲ
4 Γυναικείαν ὀνομάζουσι. θύεται δ᾽ αὐτῇ κατ᾽
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἢ
μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων παρου-
σῶν. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καθ᾽ αὐτόν,
ὀλίγων παντάπασιν αὐτῷ παρόντων, ἐφρόντιζεν
ὅπως χρήσαιτο τοῖς ἀνδράσι. τήν τε γὰρ ἄκραν
καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀδικήμασι τηλικούτοις τιμω-
ρίαν ἐξευλαβεῖτο καὶ κατώκνει δι᾽ ἐπιείκειαν
ἤθους ἅμα καὶ ὡς μὴ δοκοίη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν
ἐμφορεῖσθαι καὶ πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γέ-
νει τε πρώτοις καὶ φίλους δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
κεκτημένοις· μαλακώτερόν τε χρησάμενος ὠρρώ-
5 δει τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσειν
μετριώτερόν τι θανάτου παθόντας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἅπαν
ἀναρραγήσεσθαι τόλμης, τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν
ὀργὴν προσλαβόντας· αὐτός τε δόξειν ἄνανδρος
καὶ μαλακός, οὐδ᾽ ἄλλως δοκῶν εὐτολμότατος
εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

XX. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαποροῦντος γί-

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[1] *i.e.* for confinement under guard in their own houses (libera custodia).

predicament. He and his associates, therefore, were handed over to the praetors for custody without fetters.[1]

It was now evening, and the people were waiting about the temple in throngs, when Cicero come forth and told his fellow-citizens what had been done.[2] They then escorted him to the house of a friend and neighbour, since his own was occupied by the women, who were celebrating mysterious rites to a goddess whom the Romans call Bona Dea, and the Greeks, Gynaeceia. Sacrifice is offered to her annually in the house of the consul by his wife or his mother, in the presence of the Vestal Virgins. Cicero, then, having gone into his friend's house, began to deliberate with himself—and he had only very few companions—what he should do with the men.[3] For he shrank from inflicting the extreme penalty, and the one befitting such great crimes, and he hesitated to do it because of the kindliness of his nature, and at the same time that he might not appear to make an excessive use of his power and to trample ruthlessly upon men who were of the highest birth and had powerful friends in the city; and if he treated them with less severity, he was afraid of the peril into which they would bring the state. For if they suffered any milder penalty than death, he was sure they would not be satisfied, but would break out into every extreme of boldness, having added fresh rage to their old villainy: and he himself would be thought unmanly and weak, especially as the multitude already thought him very far from courageous.

XX. While Cicero was in this perplexity, a sign

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[2] The third oration *in Catilinam*.

[3] Cf. Sallust's *Catiline*, 46.

νεταί τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημεῖον θυούσαις. ὁ γὰρ βωμός, ἤδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκοιμῆσθαι δοκοῦντος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοιῶν φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνῆκε καὶ λαμπράν. ὑφ' ἧς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἱεραὶ παρθένοι τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ᾗ τάχος χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν οἷς ἔγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα πρός τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς
2 διδούσης. ἡ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πρᾳεῖά τις οὐδ' ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ) ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἑταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος, ᾧ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐχρῆτο πράξεις.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γενομένων ἐν συγκλήτῳ λόγων περὶ τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Σιλανὸς εἶπε τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι προσήκειν ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. καὶ προσετίθεντο τούτῳ πάντες ἐφεξῆς μέχρι Γαΐου Καίσαρος τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα δικτάτορος γενομένου. τότε δὲ νέος ὢν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἔχων τῆς αὐξήσεως ἀρχάς, ἤδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμβεβηκὼς ᾗ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα,

was given to the women who were sacrificing. The altar, it seems, although the fire was already thought to have gone out, sent forth from the ashes and burnt bark upon it a great bright blaze. The rest of the women were terrified at this, but the sacred virgins bade Terentia the wife of Cicero go with all speed to her husband and tell him to carry out his resolutions in behalf of the country, since the goddess was giving him a great light on this path to safety and glory. So Terentia, who was generally of no mild spirit nor without natural courage, but an ambitious woman, and, as Cicero himself tells us,[1] more inclined to make herself a partner in his political perplexities than to share with him her domestic concerns, gave him this message and incited him against the conspirators; so likewise did Quintus, his brother, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical companions, of whom he made the most and greatest use in his political undertakings.

On the following day the senate discussed the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, who was the first to be asked to give his opinion, said that they ought to be taken to prison and there suffer extremest punishment. All the senators acceded to his opinion one after the other, until it came to Caius Caesar,[2] who afterwards became dictator. At this time, however, he was a young man still and at the very beginning of his rise to power, but in his public policy and his hopes he had already entered upon that road by which he changed the Roman state into a monarchy. His

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[1] In some passage no longer extant.

[2] Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iv. 4, 7.

4 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς
μὲν ὑποψίας, λαβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἔλεγχον
παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόντων ἦν ἐνίων ἀκούειν
ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἁλῶναι διεκφύγοι τὸν ἄνδρα.
τινὲς δέ φασι παριδεῖν ἑκόντα καὶ παραλιπεῖν τὴν
κατ' ἐκείνου μήνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῆς δυνάμεως· παντὶ γὰρ εἶναι πρόδηλον ὅτι
μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι γένοιντο προσθήκη Καίσαρι
σωτηρίας ἢ Καῖσαρ ἐκείνοις κολάσεως. 871

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη περιῆλθεν εἰς
αὐτόν, ἀναστὰς ἀπεφήνατο μὴ θανατοῦν τοὺς
ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι δημοσίας, αὐτοὺς
δ' ἀπαχθέντας εἰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἂν δοκῇ
Κικέρωνι, τηρεῖσθαι δεδεμένους ἄχρι ἂν οὗ καταπολεμηθῇ
2 Κατιλίνας. οὔσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπιεικοῦς
καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτου,
ῥοπὴν ὁ Κικέρων προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν. αὐτός
τε γὰρ ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἑκάτερον, τὰ μὲν
τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ Καίσαρος συνειπών,
οἵ τε φίλοι πάντες οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέρειν
τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην (ἧττον γὰρ ἐν αἰτίαις
ἔσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας) ᾑροῦντο
3 τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
Σιλανὸν αὖθις μεταβαλλόμενον παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ
λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θανατικὴν γνώμην·
ἐσχάτην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι
δίκην τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εἰρημένης δὲ τῆς γνώμης
πρῶτος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῇ Κάτλος Λουτάτιος·
εἶτα δεξάμενος Κάτων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σφοδρῶς

designs were still unnoticed by the rest, but to Cicero he had given many grounds for suspicion, and yet no hold which could lead to his conviction, although many were heard to say that he had come near being caught by Cicero, but had eluded him. Some, however, say that Cicero purposely overlooked and neglected the information against him through fear of his friends and his power, since it was clear to every one that the other conspirators would be included in Caesar's acquittal, rather than Caesar in their punishment.

XXI. When, then, it was Caesar's turn to give his opinion, he rose and declared it to be against putting the conspirators to death, but in favour of confiscating their property and removing them to whatever cities of Italy Cicero might deem best, there to be put in fetters and closely guarded until Catiline should be defeated. The proposal of Caesar was merciful and its author a very able speaker, and Cicero added no little weight to it. For when he rose to speak himself,[1] he handled the subject in both ways, now favouring the first proposal and now that of Caesar. All his friends, too, thinking that Caesar's proposal was an advantageous one for Cicero, who would be less subject to censure if he did not put the conspirators to death, chose the second proposal rather, so that Silanus also changed his position and excused himself by saying that even his proposal had not meant death: for "extremest punishment," in the case of a Roman senator, meant the prison. Lutatius Catulus was the first to oppose the opinion which Caesar had given; then Cato followed him, helping

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[1] The fourth oration *in Catilinam.*

συνεπερείσας ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν,
ἐνέπλησε θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος τὴν σύγκλητον,
ὥστε θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
4 περὶ δὲ δημεύσεως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καῖσαρ,
οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ φιλάνθρωπα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης
ἐκβαλόντας ἑνὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ.
βιαζομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς δημάρ-
χους. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων αὐτὸς
ἐνδοὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν περὶ δημεύσεως γνώμην.

XXII. Ἐχώρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἄνδρας. οὐκ ἐν ταὐτῷ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ἄλλος δ'
ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ πρῶτον
ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἦγε διὰ
τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, τῶν μὲν
ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν κύκλῳ περιεσπειραμένων
καὶ δορυφορούντων, τοῦ δὲ δήμου φρίττοντος τὰ
δρώμενα καὶ παριόντος[1] σιωπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν
νέων, ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις ἀριστοκρατικῆς
τινος ἐξουσίας τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους
2 δοκούντων. διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος
πρὸς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ
δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν· εἶθ' ἑξῆς τὸν
Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον κατα-
γαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁρῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἔτι τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς[2] συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας
ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἀγνοοῦντας, τὴν δὲ
νύκτα προσμένοντας, ὡς ἔτι ζώντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπασθῆναι, φθεγξάμενος μέγα
πρὸς αὐτούς, "Ἔζησαν," εἶπεν. οὕτω δὲ Ῥω-

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[1] παριόντος Bekker and Graux adopt the παριέντος (*acquiescing*) of Coraës.

[2] τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Graux with M^{a}: τῆς.

by the vehemence of his speech to fix suspicion upon Caesar, and filled the senate with angry resolution, so that a decree of death was passed upon the conspirators. As regarded the confiscation of their property, however, Caesar made opposition, deeming it wrong that the merciful part of his own proposal should be rejected and the one part that was most severe adopted. And when many of the senators insisted upon it, he invoked the aid of the tribunes, but they would not listen to his appeal; Cicero himself, however, yielded the point, and remitted that part of the vote which called for confiscation.

XXII. Then he went with the senate to fetch the conspirators. These were not all in the same place, but different praetors had different ones under guard. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the people shuddering at what was being done and passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the forum and reached the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death. Then Cethegus in his turn, and so each one of the others, he brought down to the prison and had him executed. And seeing that many members of the conspiracy were still assembled in the forum in ignorance of what had been done and waiting for night to come, with the idea that the men were still living and might be rescued, he cried out to them with a loud voice and said: "They have

*μαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι
σημαίνουσιν.*

3 *Ἤδη δ' ἦν ἑσπέρα, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαινεν
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐκέτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ
τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φωναῖς καὶ
κρότοις δεχομένων καθ' οὓς γένοιτο, σωτῆρα καὶ
κτίστην ἀνακαλούντων τῆς πατρίδος. τὰ δὲ
φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμπε τοὺς στενωπούς, λαμπάδια
4 καὶ δᾷδας ἱστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. αἱ δὲ
γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεγῶν προὔφαινον ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ
θέᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑπὸ πομπῇ τῶν ἀρίστων μάλα
σεμνῶς ἀνιόντος· ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι πολέμους τε
κατειργασμένοι μεγάλους καὶ διὰ θριάμβων εἰσεληλακότες
καὶ προσκεκτημένοι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν
οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς
ἀλλήλους πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ
στρατηγῶν πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμεως
χάριν ὀφείλειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ἀσφαλείας
δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἑνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρωνι, τηλικοῦτον
5 ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ
τὸ κωλῦσαι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς
πράττοντας ἐδόκει θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγιστον* 87
*τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν οὗτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς
ἄνευ στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατέσβεσε. καὶ γὰρ
τὸν Κατιλίναν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συνερρυηκότων
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Λέντλον
καὶ Κέθηγον ἐγκαταλιπόντες ᾤχοντο· καὶ μετὰ
τῶν συμμεμενηκότων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς
Ἀντώνιον αὐτός τε διεφθάρη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

XXIII. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Κικέρωνα
παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ*

lived." For thus the Romans who wish to avoid words of ill omen indicate death.

It was now evening, and Cicero went up through the forum to his house, the citizens no longer escorting him on his way with silent decorum, but receiving him with cries and clapping of hands as he passed along, calling him the saviour and founder of his country. And many lights illuminated the streets, since people placed lamps and torches at their doors. The women, too, displayed lights upon the housetops in honour of the man, and that they might see him going up to his home in great state under escort of the noblest citizens. Most of these had brought to an end great wars and entered the city in triumph, and had added to the Roman dominion no small extent of land and sea; but they now walked along confessing to one another that to many of the commanders and generals of the time the Roman people were indebted for wealth and spoils and power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had freed them from so peculiar and so great a peril. For it was not his preventing their schemes and punishing the schemers which seemed so wonderful, but his quenching the greatest of all revolutions with the fewest possible evils, without sedition and commotion. For most of those who had flocked to the standard of Catiline, as soon as they learned the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus, deserted him and went away; and Catiline, after a conflict with his remaining forces against Antonius, perished himself and his army with him.[1]

XXIII. However, there were those who were ready to abuse Cicero for what he had done, and to

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[1] Near the beginning of 62 B.C.

ποιεῖν κακῶς, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον
ἀρχόντων Καίσαρα μὲν στρατηγοῦντα, Μέτελλον
δὲ καὶ Βηστίαν δημαρχοῦντας. οἳ τὴν ἀρχὴν
παραλαβόντες, ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας
ἄρχοντος, οὐκ εἴων δημηγορεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐμβόλων βάθρα θέντες οὐ παρίεσαν οὐδ’
ἐπέτρεπον λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκέλευον, εἰ βούλοιτο,
μόνον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομόσαντα καταβαίνειν.
2 κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ὀμόσων προῆλθε· καὶ
γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς ὤμνυεν, οὐ τὸν πάτριον,
ἀλλ’ ἴδιόν τινα καὶ καινὸν ὅρκον, ἦ μὴν σεσωκέναι
τὴν πατρίδα καὶ διατετηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
ἐπώμνυε δὲ τὸν ὅρκον αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ δῆμος. ἐφ’
οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὅ τε Καῖσαρ οἵ τε δήμαρχοι
χαλεπαίνοντες ἄλλας τε τῷ Κικέρωνι ταραχὰς
ἐμηχανῶντο, καὶ νόμος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν
Πομπήϊον μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὡς δὴ καταλύσοντα
3 τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν. ἀλλ’ ἦν
ὄφελος μέγα τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει
δημαρχῶν τότε Κάτων καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων[1] πολιτεύμασιν
ἀπ’ ἴσης μὲν ἐξουσίας, μείζονος δὲ δόξης
ἀντιτασσόμενος. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ῥᾳδίως ἔλυσε,
καὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν οὕτως ἦρε τῷ λόγῳ
μεγάλην δημηγορήσας ὥστε τιμὰς αὐτῷ τῶν πώποτε
μεγίστας ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι
πατέρα πατρίδος. πρώτῳ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ

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[1] *ἐκείνων* Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: *ἐκείνου* (referring to Caesar).

work him harm, and they had as leaders, among the magistrates-elect, Caesar as praetor, and Metellus and Bestia[1] as tribunes. When these assumed office, Cicero having still a few days of consular authority,[2] they would not permit him to harangue the people, but placing their benches so as to command the rostra, would not suffer or allow him to speak; instead, they ordered him, if he wished, merely to pronounce the oath usual on giving up office, and then come down. Cicero accepted these terms and came forward to pronounce his oath; and when he had obtained silence, he pronounced, not the usual oath, but one of his own and a new one, swearing that in very truth he had saved his country and maintained her supremacy. And all the people confirmed his oath for him. At this Caesar and the tribunes were still more vexed and contrived fresh troubles for Cicero. Among other things, a law was introduced by them for calling Pompey home with his army, in order, forsooth, that he might put down the arbitrary power of Cicero. But Cato, who was tribune at this time, was a great help to Cicero and to the whole state, and opposed the measures of the other tribunes with an authority equal to theirs and a greater good repute. For he easily put a stop to their other projects, and so highly extolled the "arbitrary power" of Cicero in a speech to the people, that they voted him the greatest honours ever conferred and called him the father of his country. For he was the first, as it seems, to receive this

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[1] Bestia was tribune in 63 B.C., and could not have had any part in dictating the procedure of Cicero.

[2] Caesar, as praetor, assumed office January 1, 62 B.C., the day after Cicero laid down the consulship; but the new tribunes for the year 62 assumed office early in December of 63.

τοῦτο καθυπάρξαι, Κάτωνος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐν τῷ δήμῳ προσαγορεύσαντος.

XXIV. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἴσχυσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει
τότε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ'
οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ
μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραινόμενος.
οὔτε γὰρ βουλὴν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε
δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίναν ἔδει
2 θρυλούμενον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα
τῶν ἐγκωμίων· καὶ τὸν λόγον ἥδιστον ὄντα
καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην ἐπαχθῆ καὶ φορτικὸν
ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ὥσπερ τινὸς ἀεὶ κηρὸς
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀηδίας ταύτης προσούσης. ὅμως δέ,
καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνών, ἀπήλλακτο
τοῦ φθονεῖν ἑτέροις, ἀφθονώτατος ὢν ἐν
τῷ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας
ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν
3 ἔστι. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύουσιν·
οἷον περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι χρυσίου ποταμὸς
εἴη ῥέοντος, καὶ περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων,
ὡς τοῦ Διός, εἰ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν, οὕτω
διαλεγομένου. τὸν δὲ Θεόφραστον εἰώθει τρυφὴν
ἰδίαν ἀποκαλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους
λόγων ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα δοκοίη κάλλιστον εἶναι,
4 τὸν μέγιστον εἶπε. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμένων
δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος,
ἣν πρός τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ
γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν

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[1] Cicero himself nowhere says this, nor does he mention Cato in connection with the title. In his oration *in Pisonem*,

title,[1] after Cato had given it to him before the people.

XXIV. So at this time Cicero had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself generally odious, not by any base action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself, which made him hateful to many. For there could be no session either of senate or assembly or court of justice in which one was not obliged to hear Catiline and Lentulus endlessly talked about. Nay, he even went so far as to fill his books and writings with these praises of himself; and he made his oratory, which was naturally very pleasant and had the greatest charm, irksome and tedious to his hearers, since this unpleasant practice clung to him like a fatality. But nevertheless, although he cherished so strong an ambition, he was free from envying others, since he was most ungrudging in his encomiums upon his predecessors and contemporaries, as may be gathered from his writings. There are also many sayings of his on record which prove this; for instance, he said of Aristotle that he was a river of liquid gold,[2] and of the dialogues of Plato that Jupiter, were it his nature to use human speech, would thus discourse.[3] Theophrastus, too, he used to call his own special delight. And when he was asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he thought the best, he replied, "the longest." And yet some of those who pretend to be imitators of Demosthenes dwell much upon an expression which Cicero used in a letter to one of his friends, to the effect that in some parts of

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3, 6, he says that Quintus Catulus gave him the title in the Senate. [2] *Acad. Prior.* ii. 38, 119.

[3] *Brutus*, 31, 121 (si *Graece* loquatur).

τὸν Δημοσθένη· τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν
ἐπαίνων οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρῆται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὓς μάλιστα τῶν ἰδίων ἐσπούδασε
λόγων, τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψεν,
ἀμνημονοῦσι.

5 Τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ
σοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον
ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἑκάστου.
Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν 87
Ῥωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄρχοντος ἤδη,
διεπράξατο δὲ καὶ[1] τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν
ψηφίσασθαι δεηθῆναι μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις
καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν
6 πόλιν. ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ
πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἕτεραι δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἐγκελευομένου
συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. Γοργίαν δὲ
τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους
προάγειν τὸ μειράκιον ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνουσίας
7 αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία
καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὀργῇ
τινι γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως
ἐπικόπτοντος, εἴπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος,
ᾗπερ ἐδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου
καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος ὥσπερ ἀμελήσαντα
τιμάς τινας αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ
Βυζαντίων γενέσθαι.

XXV. Ταῦτά τε δὴ φιλότιμα, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις

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[1] *καὶ* supplied here by Reiske, and deleted before δεηθῆναι by Sintenis[1] (in crit. notes). Graux simply transposes.

his speeches Demosthenes nods; but of the great and admirable praises which he often bestows upon him, and of the fact that those speeches of his own to which he devoted most labour, namely, the speeches against Antony, were entitled by him Philippics, they say nothing.

Moreover, of the men of his own time who were famous for eloquence or learning, there is not one whom he did not make more famous by what he said or wrote in favour of him. For Cratippus the Peripatetic he obtained the Roman citizenship from Caesar, now in power, and he also induced the council of the Areiopagus to pass a decree requesting him to remain at Athens and discourse with the young men, and thus be an ornament to the city. Furthermore, there are letters from Cicero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he urges them to study philosophy with Cratippus.[1] But Gorgias the rhetorician he censured for leading the young man into pleasures and drinking parties, and banished him from his son's society.[2] This is almost the only one of his Greek letters (there is also a second, addressed to Pelops of Byzantium) which was written in a spirit of anger; and Gorgias he properly rebukes, if, as he was thought to be, he was worthless and intemperate; but towards Pelops he shows a mean and querulous spirit for having neglected to obtain for him certain honorary decrees from the Byzantians.

XXV. These complaints were characteristic of

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[1] These letters are not extant.

[2] The younger Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (*ad fam.* xvi. 21, 6), says that he had found Gorgias useful as a teacher of declamation, but had dismissed him in obedience to his father's positive command.

ἐπαιρόμενον τοῦ λόγου τῇ δεινότητι τὸ πρέπον προΐεσθαι. Μουνατίῳ μὲν γάρ ποτε συνηγορήσας, ὡς ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ἐκεῖνος ἐδίωκεν ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον, οὕτω λέγεται προπεσεῖν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁ Κικέρων ὥστ' εἰπεῖν· "Σὺ γὰρ ἐκείνην, ὦ Μουνάτιε, τὴν δίκην ἀπέφυγες διὰ σαυτόν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ πολὺ σκότος ἐν φωτὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
2 περιχέαντος;" Μάρκον δὲ Κράσσον ἐγκωμιάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐημέρησε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας αὖθις ὀλίγας λοιδορῶν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν "Οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πρώην αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπῄνεις;" "Ναί," φησι, "μελέτης ἕνεκεν γυμνάζων τὸν
3 λόγον εἰς φαύλην ὑπόθεσιν." εἰπόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ Κράσσου μηδένα Κράσσον ἐν Ῥώμῃ βεβιωκέναι μακρότερον ἑξηκονταετίας, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀρνουμένου καὶ λέγοντος, "Τί δ' ἂν ἐγὼ παθὼν τοῦτ' εἶπον;" "Ἤιδεις," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίους ἡδέως ἀκουσομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐδημαγώγεις." ἀρέσκεσθαι δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φήσαντος, ὅτι πλούσιον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν, "Ὅρα μὴ μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "ὅτι πάντα τοῦ σοφοῦ
4 λέγουσιν εἶναι." διεβάλλετο δ' εἰς φιλαργυρίαν ὁ Κράσσος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τῶν παίδων ὁ ἕτερος Ἀξίῳ τινὶ δοκῶν ὅμοιος εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μητρὶ προστριβόμενος αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀξίῳ διαβολὴν εὐδοκίμησε λόγον ἐν βουλῇ διελθών, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων τί φαίνεται αὐτῷ, "Ἄξιος," εἶπε, "Κράσσου."

ambition, as well as the fact that he was often led on by the cleverness of his speech to disregard propriety. For instance, he once served as advocate for Munatius, who was no sooner acquitted than he prosecuted a friend of Cicero's, Sabinus, whereupon, it is said, Cicero was so transported with anger as to say: "Was it, pray, on your own merits, Munatius, that you were acquitted, and not because I spread much darkness about the court when before there was light?" And again, he gained great applause by an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostra, and then a few days afterwards as publicly reviled him, whereupon Crassus said: "What, did you not stand there yourself a day or two ago and praise me?" "Yea," said Cicero, "exercising my eloquence by way of practice on a bad subject." Again, Crassus once said that no Crassus had lived in Rome to be older than sixty years, and then tried to deny it, exclaiming, "What could have led me to say this?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that the Romans would be delighted to hear it, and by that means you tried to court their favour." And when Crassus expressed his satisfaction with the Stoics because they represented the good man as rich, "Consider," said Cicero, "whether your satisfaction is not rather due to their declaration that all things belong to the wise." Now, Crassus was accused of covetousness. Again, one of the sons of Crassus who was thought to resemble a certain Axius, and on this account had brought his mother's name into scandalous connection with that of Axius, once made a successful speech in the senate, and when Cicero was asked what he thought of him, he answered with the Greek words "Axios Krassou."[1]

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[1] "Worthy of Crassus."

XXVI. Μέλλων δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Συρίαν ἀπαίρειν
ἐβούλετο τὸν Κικέρωνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φίλον
ἢ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι· καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔφη βούλεσθαι
δειπνῆσαι παρ' αὐτῷ· κἀκεῖνος ὑπεδέξατο
προθύμως. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις περὶ
Βατινίου φίλων τινῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὡς μνωμένου
διαλύσεις καὶ φιλίαν (ἦν γὰρ ἐχθρός), “Οὐ
δήπου καὶ Βατίνιος,” εἶπε, “δειπνῆσαι παρ' ἐμοὶ
2 βούλεται;” πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράσσον τοιοῦτος. αὐτὸν
δὲ τὸν Βατίνιον ἔχοντα χοιράδας ἐν τῷ
τραχήλῳ καὶ λέγοντα δίκην οἰδοῦντα ῥήτορα
προσεῖπεν. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τέθνηκεν, εἶτα μετὰ
μικρὸν πυθόμενος σαφῶς ὅτι ζῇ, “Κακὸς τοίνυν
3 ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς ὁ ψευσάμενος.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Καίσαρι
ψηφισαμένῳ τὴν ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χώραν
κατανεμηθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλοὶ μὲν
ἐδυσχέραινον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, Λεύκιος δὲ Γέλλιος
ὁμοῦ τι πρεσβύτατος ὢν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ γενήσεται
τοῦτο ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, “Περιμείνωμεν,” εἶπεν ὁ
Κικέρων, “μακρὰν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτεῖται Γέλλιος
4 ὑπέρθεσιν.” ἦν δέ τις Ὀκταούϊος αἰτίαν ἔχων
ἐκ Λιβύης γεγονέναι· πρὸς τοῦτον ἔν τινι δίκῃ
λέγοντα τοῦ Κικέρωνος μὴ ἐξακούειν, “Καὶ μὴν
οὐκ ἔχεις,” εἶπε, “τὸ οὖς ἀτρύπητον.” Μετέλλου
δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος ὅτι πλείονας καταμαρτυρῶν
ἀνῄρηκεν ἢ συνηγορῶν σέσωκεν, “Ὁμολογῶ
γάρ,” ἔφη, “πίστεως ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον ἢ δεινότητος
5 εἶναι.” νεανίσκου δέ τινος αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ἐν
πλακοῦντι φάρμακον τῷ πατρὶ δεδωκέναι θρα-

XXVI. When Crassus was about to set out for Syria, wishing that Cicero should be a friend rather than an enemy, he said to him in a friendly manner that he wished to dine with him; and Cicero readily received him into his house. But a few days afterwards, when some friends interceded with him for Vatinius, saying that the man sought reconciliation and friendship (for he was an enemy), "It surely cannot be," said Cicero, "that Vatinius also wishes to dine with me." Such, then, was his treatment of Crassus. Now, Vatinius himself had swellings on his neck, and once when he was pleading a case Cicero called him a *tumid* orator. Again, after hearing that Vatinius was dead, and then after a little learning for a surety that he was alive, "Wretchedly perish, then," said Cicero, "the wretch who lied!" And again, Caesar once got a decree passed that the land in Campania should be divided among his soldiers, and many of the senators were dissatisfied, and Lucius Gellius, who was about the oldest of them, declared that it should never be done while he was alive; whereupon Cicero said: "Let us wait, since Gellius does not ask for a long postponement." There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; to this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied: "And yet your ear is not without a perforation."[1] And when Metellus Nepos declared that Cicero had brought more men to death as a hostile witness than he had saved from it as an advocate, "Yes," said Cicero, "I admit that my credibility is greater than my eloquence." Again, when a certain young man who was accused of having given his father poison in

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[1] Usually the mark of a slave.

συνομένου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι λοιδορήσει τὸν 87
Κικέρωνα, "Τοῦτο," ἔφη, "παρὰ σοῦ βούλομαι
μᾶλλον ἢ πλακοῦντα." Ποπλίου δὲ Σηστίου
συνήγορον μὲν αὐτὸν ἔν τινι δίκῃ παραλαβόντος
μεθ' ἑτέρων, αὐτοῦ δὲ πάντα βουλομένου λέγειν
καὶ μηδενὶ παριέντος εἰπεῖν, ὡς δῆλος ἦν ἀφιέ-
μενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἤδη τῆς ψήφου φερομέ-
νης, "Χρῶ σήμερον," ἔφη, "τῷ καιρῷ, Σήστιε·
6 μέλλεις γὰρ αὔριον ἰδιώτης εἶναι." Πόπλιον δὲ
Κώνσταν νομικὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον, ὄντα δ' ἀμα-
θῆ καὶ ἀφυῆ, πρός τινα δίκην ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρα·
τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰδέναι φάσκοντος, "Ἴσως," ἔφη,
"δοκεῖς περὶ τῶν νομικῶν ἐρωτᾶσθαι." Μετέλ-
λου δὲ Νέπωτος ἐν διαφορᾷ τινι πολλάκις λέ-
γοντος "Τίς σοῦ πατήρ ἐστιν," ὁ Κικέρων "Σοὶ
ταύτην" ἔφη "τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἡ μήτηρ χαλεπω-
7 τέραν ἐποίησεν." ἐδόκει δ' ἀκόλαστος ἡ μήτηρ
εἶναι τοῦ Νέπωτος, αὐτὸς δέ τις εὐμετάβολος.
καί ποτε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἄφνω πρὸς
Πομπήϊον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Συρίαν, εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν
ἐπανῆλθεν ἀλογώτερον. θάψας δὲ Φίλαγρον
τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ
τῷ τάφῳ κόρακα λίθινον· καὶ ὁ Κικέρων "Τοῦτ'"
ἔφη "σοφώτερον ἐποίησας· πέτεσθαι γάρ σε
8 μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν." ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος
Ἄππιος ἔν τινι δίκῃ προοιμιαζόμενος εἶπε φίλον
αὐτοῦ δεδεῆσθαι παρασχεῖν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ λο-
γιότητα καὶ πίστιν, "Εἶθ' οὕτως," ἔφη, "σιδη-
ροῦς γέγονας ἄνθρωπος ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσούτων
ὧν ᾐτήσαθ' ὁ φίλος παρασχεῖν;"

a cake put on bold airs and threatened to cover Cicero with abuse, "That," said Cicero, "I would rather have from you than a cake." There was Publius Sextius, too, who retained Cicero as an advocate in a case, along with others, and then wanted to do all the speaking himself, and would allow no one else a word; when it was clear that he was going to be acquitted by the jurors and the vote was already being given, "Use your opportunity to-day, Sextius," said Cicero, "for to-morrow you are going to be a nobody." Publius Consta, too, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid, was once summoned by Cicero as witness in a case; and when he kept saying that he knew nothing, "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think you are being questioned on points of law." Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly "Who is your father?" "In your case," said Cicero, "your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult." Now, the mother of Nepos was thought to be unchaste, and he himself a fickle sort of man. He once suddenly deserted his office of tribune and sailed off to join Pompey in Syria, and then came back from there with even less reason. Moreover, after burying his teacher Philagrus with more than usual ceremony, he set upon his tomb a raven in stone; whereupon Cicero remarked: "In this you have acted more wisely than is your wont, for he taught you to fly rather than to speak." And again, when Marcus Appius prefaced his speech in a case by saying that his friend had begged him to exhibit diligence, eloquence, and fidelity, "And then," said Cicero, "are you so hard-hearted as to exhibit none of those great qualities which your friend demanded?"

XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἀντιδίκους
σκώμμασι χρῆσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικὸν
εἶναι· τὸ δ᾽ οἷς ἔτυχε προσκρούειν ἕνεκα τοῦ
γελοίου πολὺ συνῆγε μῖσος αὐτῷ. γράψω δὲ
καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα. Μάρκον Ἀκυΐνιον ἔχοντα δύο
2 γαμβροὺς φυγάδας Ἄδραστον ἐκάλει. Λευκίου
δὲ Κόττα τιμητικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχήν, φιλοινοτάτου
δ᾽ ὄντος, ὑπατείαν μετιὼν ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε,
καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάντων ὡς ἔπινεν,
"Ὀρθῶς φοβεῖσθε," εἶπε, "μή μοι γένοιτο χαλεπὸς
ὁ τιμητὴς ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνω." Βωκωνίῳ δ᾽
ἀπαντήσας ἄγοντι μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἀμορφοτάτας
θυγατέρας ἀνεφθέγξατο·

"Φοίβου ποτ᾽ οὐκ ἐῶντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα."

3 Μάρκου δὲ Γελλίου δοκοῦντος οὐκ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων
γεγονέναι, λαμπρᾷ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ γράμματα
πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξαναγνόντος, "Μὴ
θαυμάζετε," εἶπε, "καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ἐστι τῶν ἀναπεφωνηκότων."
ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαῦστος ὁ Σύλλα τοῦ
μοναρχήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
προγράψαντος ἐν δανείοις γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ
τῆς οὐσίας διασπαθήσας ἀπάρτιον προέγραψε,
ταύτην ἔφη μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν προγραφὴν ἀρέσκειν
ἢ τὴν πατρῴαν.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθής· καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίου συνέστησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες. ἦν Κλώδιος ἀνὴρ εὐγενής, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι

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[1] Adrastus, mythical king of Argos, gave his two daughters in marriage to Tydeus and Polyneices, both of whom were fugitives from their native cities.

XXVII. Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator's business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero. And I will give a few instances of this also. Marcus Aquinius, who had two sons-in-law in exile, he called Adrastus.[1] Again, Lucius Cotta, who held the office of censor, was very fond of wine, and Cicero, when canvassing for the consulship, was a-thirst, and as his friends stood about him while he drank, said: "You have good reason to fear that the censor will deal harshly with me—for drinking water." And when he met Voconius escorting three very ugly daughters, he cried out:—

"It was against the will of Phoebus that he begat children."[2]

Again, when Marcus Gellius, who was thought to be of servile birth, had read letters to the senate in a loud and clear voice, "Do not marvel," said Cicero, "he too is one of those who have cried aloud for their freedom."[3] And when Faustus, the son of the Sulla who was dictator at Rome and placarded many people for death, got into debt, squandered much of his substance, and placarded his household goods for sale, Cicero said he liked this placarding better than his father's.

XXVIII. As a consequence of this he became odious to many; and besides, the partisans of Clodius combined against him on the following ground. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but bold

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[2] An iambic trimeter from some lost tragedy, perhaps the *Oedipus* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 911).

[3] A play upon the phrase (used of a slave) "in libertatem reclamare."

θρασὺς καὶ αὐθάδης. οὗτος ἐρῶν Πομπηΐας τῆς
Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρεισ-
ῆλθε κρύφα, λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλ-
τρίας· ἔθυον γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀπόρρητον
ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
2 Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ, καὶ παρῆν ἀνὴρ οὐδείς· ἀλλὰ
μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι καὶ μήπω γενειῶν ὁ Κλώδιος
ἤλπιζε λήσεσθαι διαδὺς πρὸς τὴν Πομπηΐαν
μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς
οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἠπορεῖτο τῶν διόδων· καὶ πλα-
νώμενον αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσα Αὐρηλίας θεραπαινὶς τῆς
Καίσαρος μητρός, ᾔτησεν ὄνομα. φθέγξασθαι
δ' ἀναγκασθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλου-
θον Πομπηΐας ζητεῖν Ἄβραν τοὔνομα, συνεῖσα
τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικείαν οὖσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ
3 συνεκάλει τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δ' ἀποκλείσασαι
τὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνώμεναι λαμβάνουσι
τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς οἴκημα παιδίσκης, ᾗ συνεισῆλθε,
καταπεφευγότα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου 875
γενομένου Καῖσάρ τε τὴν Πομπηΐαν ἀφῆκε καὶ
δίκην[1] ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

XXIX. Κικέρων δ' ἦν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίναν πραττομένων ἐχρῆτο προθυμοτάτῳ συνεργῷ καὶ φύλακι τοῦ σώματος, ἰσχυριζομένου δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔγκλημα τῷ μηδὲ γεγονέναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πορρωτάτω χωρίοις διατρίβειν, κατεμαρτύρησεν ὡς ἀφιγμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε καὶ

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[1] δίκην before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, where once stood some such phrase as εἷς τῶν δημάρχων (Plutarch, *Caesar*, x. 5). So (substantially) Graux.

and presumptuous in spirit. This man, being in love with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, got into his house secretly, by assuming the dress and guise of a lute-player; for the women of Rome were celebrating in Caesar's house that mysterious rite which men were not allowed to witness,[1] and no man was there; but being still a beardless youth Clodius hoped without being noticed to slip through to Pompeia along with the women. But since he got in at night and the house was large, he lost his way in the passages; and as he was wandering about, a maid of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, caught sight of him and asked him his name. Being thus compelled to speak, he said that he was looking for an attendant of Pompeia named Abra, whereupon the maid, perceiving that his voice was not that of a woman, raised a cry and called the women together. These shut the doors, searched carefully all about, and found Clodius, who had taken refuge in the chamber of the girl with whom he came into the house. The affair having become noised abroad, Caesar divorced Pompeia and had an action for sacrilege brought against Clodius.

XXIX. Now, Cicero was a friend of Clodius, and in the affair of Catiline had found him a most eager co-worker and guardian of his person; but when Clodius replied to the charge against him by insisting that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but had been staying in places at the farthest remove from there, Cicero testified against him, declaring that Clodius had come to his house and

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[1] Cf. chapter xix. 3.

2 διειλεγμένου περί τινων· ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές. οὐ μὴν
ἐδόκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀπολογούμενος.
ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον ἀπέχθεια
διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐκείνου Κλωδίαν, ὡς
τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο
διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς πράττουσαν, ὃς ἑταῖρος μὲν ἦν
καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, ἀεὶ δὲ
πρὸς τὴν Κλωδίαν φοιτῶν καὶ θεραπεύων ἐγγὺς
3 οἰκοῦσαν ὑποψίαν τῇ Τερεντίᾳ παρέσχε. χαλεπὴ
δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὖσα καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος
ἄρχουσα παρώξυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεπιθέσθαι καὶ
καταμαρτυρῆσαι. κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου
πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιορκίας,
ῥᾳδιουργίας, ὄχλων δεκασμούς, φθορὰς
γυναικῶν. Λεύκουλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδας
παρεῖχεν ὡς συγγένοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
4 ὁ Κλώδιος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνῴκει. πολλὴ δ'
ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν
τὸν Κλώδιον, ὧν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ
Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἣν
Κουαδραντίαν[1] ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις
αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον
εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ
νομίσματος κουαδράντην ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλώδιος.
5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς καταμαρτυροῦντας
αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεστῶτας ἀντιταττομένου

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[1] **Κουαδραντίαν** Sintenis with the MSS.; **Κουαδρανταρίαν** Bekker, after Xylander and Du Soul (cf. Cic. *pro Cael.* 26, 62, mulier quadrantaria).

consulted him on certain matters; which was true. However, it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero and to be contriving this with the aid of a certain Tullus; now, Tullus was a companion and an especial intimate of Cicero, and his constant visits and attentions to Clodia, who lived near by, made Terentia suspicious. So, being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him. Moreover, many men of the better class bore witness against Clodius for perjury, recklessness, bribery of the multitude, and debauching of women. And Lucullus actually produced female slaves who testified that Clodius had commerce with his youngest sister when she was living with Lucullus as his wife. There was also a general belief that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters, of whom Tertia was the wife of Marcius Rex, and Clodia of Metellus Celer; the latter was called Quadrantia, because one of her lovers had put copper coins into a purse and sent them to her for silver, and the smallest copper coin was called "quadrans." It was with regard to this sister in particular that Clodius was in evil repute. However, since the people at this time set themselves against those who combined and testified against him, the jurors were

φοβηθέντες οἱ δικασταὶ φυλακὴν περιεστήσαντο,
καὶ τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλεῖστοι συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς
γράμμασιν ἤνεγκαν. ὅμως δὲ πλείονες ἔδοξαν οἱ
ἀπολύοντες γενέσθαι· καί τις ἐλέχθη καὶ δεκασμὸς
6 διελθεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτλος ἀπαντήσας τοῖς
κριταῖς, "Ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας
ᾐτήσασθε τὴν φυλακήν, φοβούμενοι μή
τις ὑμῶν ἀφέληται τὸ ἀργύριον." Κικέρων δὲ
τοῦ Κλωδίου πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος ὅτι μαρτυρῶν
οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς, "Ἀλλ'
ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "οἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν δικαστῶν
ἐπίστευσαν· τοσοῦτοι γάρ σου κατεψηφίσαντο·
σοὶ δὲ τριάκοντα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν· οὐ
γὰρ πρότερον ἀπέλυσαν ἢ ἔλαβον τὸ ἀργύριον."
7 ὁ μέντοι Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεμαρτύρησε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ
τὸν Κλώδιον, οὐδ' ἔφη μοιχείαν κατεγνωκέναι τῆς
γυναικός, ἀφεικέναι δ' αὐτὴν ὅτι τὸν Καίσαρος
ἔδει γάμον οὐ πράξεως αἰσχρᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
φήμης καθαρὸν εἶναι.

XXX. Διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Κλώδιος
καὶ δήμαρχος αἱρεθεὶς εὐθὺς εἴχετο τοῦ Κικέρωνος,
πάνθ' ὁμοῦ πράγματα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
συνάγων καὶ ταράττων ἐπ' αὐτόν. τόν τε γὰρ
δῆμον ᾠκειώσατο νόμοις φιλανθρώποις, καὶ τῶν
ὑπάτων ἑκατέρῳ μεγάλας ἐπαρχίας ἐψηφίσατο,
Πείσωνι μὲν Μακεδονίαν, Γαβινίῳ δὲ Συρίαν,
πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων συνέτασσεν εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα,
καὶ δούλους ὡπλισμένους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε.
2 τῶν δὲ πλεῖστον δυναμένων τότε τριῶν ἀνδρῶν,

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[1] Cf. also the *Caesar*, x. 7. Each juror was provided with three tablets, on one of which was marked A (absolvo); on a second C (condemno); and on a third N.L. (non liquet). The

frightened and surrounded themselves with a guard, and most of them cast their voting-tablets with the writing on them confused.[1] But nevertheless those who were for acquittal appeared to be in the majority; and some bribery also was said to have been used. This led Catulus to say, when he met the jurors, "It was indeed as a measure of safety that you asked for your guard; you were afraid that someone would take your money away from you."[2] And Cicero, when Clodius told him that as a witness he had found no credit with the jurors, said: "Nay, twenty-five of the jurors gave me credit, for so many voted against you; and thirty of them gave you no credit, for they did not vote to acquit you until they had got your money."[3] Caesar, however, when summoned as a witness, gave no testimony against Clodius, and denied that he had condemned his wife for adultery, but said that he had put her away because Caesar's wife must be free not only from shameful conduct, but even from shameful report.

XXX. But Clodius, having escaped his peril, and having been chosen tribune,[4] at once began to attack Cicero, arraying and stirring up against him all things and all men alike. He won the favour of the people by benevolent laws, got large provinces voted to each of the consuls (Macedonia to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius), brought many of the poorer class into organized political activity, and kept armed slaves about his person. Now, of the three men who at that time had most power,

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jurors voted by placing one of these tablets in the urn. Plutarch must have misunderstood his source.

[2] Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* i. 16, 5.

[3] Cf. Cicero, *ibid.* 16, 10.

[4] For the year 58 B.C.

Κράσσου μὲν ἄντικρυς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος,
Πομπηΐου δὲ θρυπτομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους,
Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξιέναι μετὰ
στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑποδὺς ὁ Κικέρων,
καίπερ οὐκ ὄντα φίλον, ἀλλ' ὕποπτον ἐκ τῶν περὶ
Κατιλίναν, ἠξίωσε πρεσβευτὴς αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν. 87
3 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κλώδιος
ὁρῶν ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα
προσεποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ
Τερεντίᾳ τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθεὶς αἰτίαν, ἐκείνου
δὲ μεμνημένος ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώμονας
ἐνδιδούς, ὡς ἄν τις οὐ μισῶν οὐδὲ χαλεπαίνων,
ἀλλ' ἐγκαλῶν μέτρια καὶ φιλικά, παντάπασιν
αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνῆκεν, ὥστ' ἀπειπεῖν τῷ
Καίσαρι τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχεσθαι τῆς
4 πολιτείας. ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ τόν τε
Κλώδιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ Πομπήϊον ἀπέστρεψε
κομιδῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, αὐτός τε κατεμαρτύρησεν
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως
ἄνδρας ἀκρίτους ἀνῃρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Λέντλον
καὶ Κέθηγον. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ κατηγορία, καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ
διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως
5 περιϊὼν ἱκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. πανταχοῦ δ' ὁ
Κλώδιος ἀπήντα κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, ἀνθρώπους
ἔχων ὑβριστὰς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ θρασεῖς, οἳ
πολλὰ μὲν χλευάζοντες ἀκολάστως εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν
καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πολλαχοῦ

Crassus was an out-and-out foe of Cicero, Pompey was dallying with both, and Caesar was about to set out for Gaul with an army; into Caesar's favour, therefore, Cicero insinuated himself (although Caesar was not a friend, but an object of suspicion owing to the affair of Catiline), and asked to accompany him on his campaign as legate.[1] But no sooner had Caesar granted the request than Clodius, seeing that Cicero was thus escaping his tribunicial power, pretended to be desirous of a reconciliation, and by laying the chief blame upon Terentia, and always speaking of Cicero in friendly terms and using kindly expressions about him, as one who bore him no hatred or even ill-will, but had moderate complaints to make of him in a friendly way, he altogether took away his fear, so that he declined the office of legate under Caesar and again applied himself to public matters. But at this conduct Caesar was exasperated, and encouraged Clodius against Cicero, and completely alienated Pompey from him, while he himself testified before the people that he did not think it right or lawful that men should be put to death without a trial, as in the case of Lentulus, Cethegus, and their accomplices. For this was the denunciation made against Cicero, and to this he was summoned to make answer. And so, being in peril of prosecution, he changed his attire,[2] and with his hair untrimmed went about supplicating the people. But Clodius met him everywhere in the streets, with a band of bold and insolent men about him, who made many unbridled jests upon Cicero's change of attire,

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[1] According to Cicero (*ad Att.* ii. 18, 3), it was Caesar who made the request.

[2] To a garb of mourning.

δὲ πηλῷ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἐνίσταντο ταῖς
ἱκεσίαις.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον μὲν
ὀλίγου δεῖν σύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἱππικῶν πλῆθος
συμμετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ δισμυρίων οὐκ
ἐλάττους νέων παρηκολούθουν κομῶντες καὶ συνικετεύοντες·
ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης ὅπως
ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεσι μεταβαλεῖν
τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐναντιωθέντων, Κλωδίου
δὲ σιδηροφορουμένου περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον,
ἐξέδραμον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν βουλευτικῶν
2 καταρρηγνύμενοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ βοῶντες. ὡς δ' ἦν
οὔτ' οἶκτος οὔτε τις αἰδὼς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ'
ἔδει τὸν Κικέρωνα φεύγειν ἢ βίᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ
κριθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον, ἐδεῖτο Πομπηΐου
βοηθεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκποδὼν γεγονότος καὶ διατρίβοντος
ἐν ἀγροῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανόν. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἔπεμψε Πείσωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν δεησόμενον·
3 ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Πομπήϊος
οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, δεινὴ γὰρ
αὐτὸν αἰδὼς εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους ἠγωνισμένον
ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς
χάριν ἐκείνῳ πεπολιτευμένον, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρι
γαμβρὸς ὢν δεομένῳ προὔδωκε τὰς παλαιὰς
χάριτας καὶ κατὰ θύρας ἄλλας ὑπεξελθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε
τὴν ἔντευξιν. οὕτω δὴ προδοθεὶς ὁ
Κικέρων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς ἔρημος ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 ὑπάτους κατέφυγε. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἦν χαλεπὸς
ἀεί, Πείσων δὲ διελέχθη πρᾳότερον αὐτῷ,

and often pelted him with mud and stones, and so interfered with his supplications to the people.

XXXI. However, in the first place, nearly the whole body of knights changed their attire with Cicero, and as many as twenty thousand young men escorted him with their hair untrimmed and joined in his suppliant entreaties to the people;[1] and besides, when the senate had met in order to pass a vote that the people should change their dress in token of public calamity, and the consuls had opposed it, and Clodius was in arms about the senate-house, not a few of the senators ran out, rending their garments and crying aloud. But since this sight awakened neither pity nor any mercy, but Cicero was obliged either to go into exile or to appeal to force and the sword against Clodius, he begged for aid from Pompey, who had purposely got out of the way and was staying at his country seat in the Alban hills. First Cicero sent Piso,[2] his son-in-law, to entreat for him; then he went up thither himself also. Pompey, however, on learning of his coming, could not endure to see him, for he felt a strong sense of shame towards the man who had made great struggles in his behalf and had often adopted a political course to please him; but since he was Caesar's son-in-law, at his request he proved false to his old obligations, slipped out by another door, and so ran away from the interview. Thus betrayed by him and left desolate, Cicero fled for refuge to the consuls. Gabinius was always severe with him, but Piso dealt

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[1] Cf. Cicero's oration *post red. ad Quir.* 3, 8.

[2] Not the consul who is mentioned in xxx. 1 and below in § 4.

παραινῶν ἐκστῆναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ῥύμῃ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος ἐν στάσεσι καὶ κακοῖς δι' ἐκεῖνον οὔσης.

Τοιαύτης τυχὼν ἀποκρίσεως ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ Λεύκουλλος μὲν ἐκέλευε μένειν, ὡς περιεσόμενον, ἄλλοι δὲ φεύγειν, ὡς ταχὺ τοῦ δήμου ποθήσοντος αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐμπλησθῇ τῆς Κλωδίου μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας. 5 ταῦτ' ἔδοξε Κικέρωνι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ πολὺν χρόνον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἱδρυμένον ἐτίμα διαφερόντως, εἰς Καπιτώλιον κομίσας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιγράψας "Ἀθηνᾷ Ῥώμης φύλακι," πομποὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαβὼν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεζῇ διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο, λαβέσθαι Σικελίας βουλόμενος.

XXXII. Ὡς δ' ἦν φανερὸς ἤδη πεφευγώς,
ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ φυγῆς ψῆφον ὁ Κλώδιος, καὶ διάγραμμα
προὔθηκεν εἴργειν πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ παρέχειν στέγην ἐντὸς μιλίων 87
πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις
ἐλάχιστος ἦν τοῦ διαγράμματος τούτου λόγος
αἰδουμένοις τὸν Κικέρωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι
2 φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτόν· ἐν δ'
Ἱππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἣν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν
καλοῦσιν, Οὐΐβιος, Σικελὸς ἀνήρ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
τῆς Κικέρωνος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκὼς καὶ γεγονὼς

with him more gently, advising him to stand aside and yield to the impetuous assaults of Clodius, to submit to the change in the times, and to become once more a saviour of his country when she was involved in seditions and misfortunes through Clodius.

After getting such answer to his appeal, Cicero took counsel with his friends: Lucullus urged him to remain in the city, believing that he would prevail; but others advised him to go into exile, believing that the people would quickly long for him when they were sated with the folly and madness of Clodius. This Cicero decided to do; so he took the statue of Minerva which had long stood in his house, and which he honoured exceedingly, carried it to the capitol,[1] and dedicated it there with the inscription "To Minerva, Guardian of Rome"; then, accepting an escort from his friends, about midnight he slipped out of the city, and set out on foot through Lucania, desiring to reach Sicily.

XXXII. But as soon as it was known that he had fled, Clodius caused a vote of banishment to be passed upon him, and issued an edict that all men should refuse him fire and water and that no man should give him shelter within five hundred miles of Italy. Now, most men paid not the slightest heed to this edict out of respect for Cicero, and escorted him on his way with every mark of kindness; but at Hipponium, a city of Lucania,[2] which is now called Vibo, Vibius, a Sicilian, who had profited much from Cicero's friendship and particularly by being made prefect of engineers during

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *de leg.* ii. 17, 42; *ad fam.* xii. 25, 1.

[2] Rather Bruttium.

ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τεκτόνων ἔπαρχος, οἰκίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸ χωρίον δὲ καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ Γάϊος Οὐεργίλιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγός, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνι κεχρημένος, 3 ἔγραψεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας. ἐφ' οἷς ἀθυμήσας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Δυρράχιον ἀνέμῳ φορῷ περαιούμενος, ἀντιπνεύσαντος πελαγίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν, εἶτ' αὖθις ἀνήχθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Δυρράχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποβαίνειν σεισμόν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ σπασμὸν ἅμα γενέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ἀφ' ὧν συνέβαλον οἱ μαντικοὶ μὴ μόνιμον αὐτῷ τὴν φυγὴν ἔσεσθαι· μεταβολῆς γὰρ 4 εἶναι ταῦτα σημεῖα. πολλῶν δὲ φοιτώντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ὅμως ἀθυμῶν καὶ περίλυπος διῆγε τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγονὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ἄνδρα παιδείᾳ συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτῃ προσ- 5 εδόκησε. καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἠξίου τοὺς φίλους μὴ ῥήτορα καλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ᾑρῆσθαι, ῥητορικῇ δ' ὀργάνῳ χρῆσθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας. ἀλλ' ἡ δόξα δεινὴ τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ βαφήν, ἀποκλύσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνομόρξασθαι πάθη δι' ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν τοῖς

his consulship, would not receive him in his house, but sent him word that he would assign him his country-place for residence; and Caius Vergilius, the praetor of Sicily, who had been on most intimate terms with Cicero, wrote him to keep away from Sicily.[1] Disheartened at this treatment, he set out for Brundisium, and from there tried to cross to Dyrrhachium with a fair breeze, but since he met a counter-wind at sea he came back the next day, and then set sail again. It is said, too, that after he had put in at Dyrrhachium and was about to land, there was an earthquake accompanied by a violent convulsion of the sea. Wherefore the soothsayers conjectured that his exile would not be lasting, since these were signs of change. But although many people visited him out of goodwill, and the Greek cities vied with one another in sending him deputations, still, he passed his time for the most part in dejection and great grief,[2] looking off towards Italy like a disconsolate lover, while in his spirit he became very petty and mean by reason of his misfortune, and was more humbled than one would have expected in a man who had enjoyed so lofty a discipline as his. And yet he often asked his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had chosen philosophy as an occupation, but used oratory merely as an instrument for attaining the needful ends of a political career. But public opinion has great power to wash away reason, like a dye, from the soul of man, and by force of familiar association to impress the feelings of the vulgar on those who engage

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *pro Plancio*, 40, 95 ff.

[2] As his letters to Atticus (iii. 8–21) show.

πολιτευομένοις, ἂν μή τις εὖ μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμμεθέξων.

XXXIII. Ὁ *δὲ* Κλώδιος *ἐξελάσας τὸν* Κικέρωνα *κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν* Ἐλευθερίας *ἐπῳκοδόμησε· τὴν δ' ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἐπώλει καὶ διεκήρυττε καθ' ἡμέραν, μηδὲν ὠνουμένου μηδενός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβερὸς ὢν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνειμένον εἰς ὕβριν πολλὴν καὶ θρασύτητα συνεφελκόμενος, ἐπεχείρει τῷ* Πομπηΐῳ, *τῶν διῳκημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν*
2 *στρατείαν ἔνια σπαράττων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ* Πομπήϊος *ἀδοξῶν ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν προέμενος τὸν* Κικέρωνα· *καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παντοῖος ἐγίνετο πράττων κάθοδον αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἐνισταμένου δὲ τοῦ* Κλωδίου *συνέδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν διὰ μέσου πρᾶγμα κυροῦν μηδὲ πράττειν δημό-*
3 *σιον, εἰ μὴ* Κικέρωνι *κάθοδος γένοιτο. τῶν δὲ περὶ* Λέντλον *ὑπατευόντων καὶ τῆς στάσεως πρόσω βαδιζούσης, ὥστε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους,* Κόϊντον *δὲ τὸν* Κικέρωνος *ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς τεθνηκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν, ὅ τε δῆμος ἤρχετο τρέπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων* Ἄννιος Μίλων *πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὸν* Κλώδιον *εἰς δίκην ἀπάγειν βιαίων, καὶ* Πομπηΐῳ *πολλοὶ συνῆλθον ἔκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων. μεθ' ὧν προελθὼν καὶ τὸν* Κλώδιον

in political life, unless one is right well on his guard when he engages himself in things external, and is resolved to participate only in the things themselves, and not in the feelings attendant upon them.

XXXIII. As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty; the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything. Being therefore formidable to the patricians, and dragging along with him the people, who indulged in great boldness and effrontery, he assailed Pompey, attacking fiercely some of the arrangements made by him on his expedition. The disgrace which this brought upon Pompey led him to reproach himself for his abandonment of Cicero; and changing front he used every effort to effect Cicero's return, and so did his friends. But since Clodius opposed himself to this, the senate decided to ratify no measure that came up in the mean time and to do no public business, unless Cicero should be permitted to return.[1] During the consulship of Lentulus,[2] however, when the disorder went on increasing, so that tribunes were wounded in the forum and Quintus the brother of Cicero lay unnoticed for dead among the slain,[3] the people began to change their minds, and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, first ventured to prosecute Clodius for violence, and many joined themselves to Pompey both from the people and from the surrounding cities. With these Pompey came forth, drove

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 31, 67 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, xlix. 1–3.

[2] 57 B.C.

[3] Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 35, 75 f.

ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλει
4 τοὺς πολίτας. καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ
τοσαύτης ὁμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆ-
μον. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἁμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεθῆναι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὸν Κικέ-
ρωνα παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐθεράπευσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἃς Κλώδιος διεφθάρκει,
τέλεσι δημοσίοις ἀνασταθῆναι.

5 Κατῄει δὲ Κικέρων ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν 878
φυγήν· καὶ τοσαύτη τὰς πόλεις χαρὰ καὶ σπουδὴ
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἶχεν ὥστε
τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κικέρωνος ὕστερον ἐνδεέστερον εἶναι
τῆς ἀληθείας. ἔφη γὰρ αὑτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὴν
Ἰταλίαν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν.
ὅπου καὶ Κράσσος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς
φυγῆς, τότε προθύμως ἀπήντα καὶ διελύετο, τῷ
παιδὶ Ποπλίῳ χαριζόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγε, ζηλωτῇ τοῦ
Κικέρωνος ὄντι.

XXXIV. Χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν καὶ
παραφυλάξας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἐπῆλθε
μετὰ πολλῶν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τὰς δημαρχικὰς
δέλτους, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν διῳκημένων ἦσαν,
ἀπέσπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἐγκαλοῦντος δὲ περὶ
τούτου τοῦ Κλωδίου, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος
ὡς παρανόμως ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημαρχίαν παρέλ-
θοι, καὶ κύριον οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ'
2 αὐτοῦ, Κάτων ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ἀντεῖπε, τὸν μὲν
Κλώδιον οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχεραίνων τοῖς
πεπολιτευμένοις, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ βίαιον ἀποφαίνων

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[1] On the question of Cicero's recall.

[2] Cf. Cicero, *in Pisonem*, 22, 52.

[3] Cf. Cicero, *post red. in sen.* 15, 39.

Clodius from the forum, and summoned the citizens to the vote.[1] And it is said that the people never passed any vote with such unanimity. The senate, too, vying with the people, wrote letters of thanks to all the cities which had ministered to Cicero during his exile, and decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost.[2]

Thus Cicero came home in the sixteenth month after his exile; and so great was the joy of the cities and the eagerness of men to meet him that what was said by Cicero afterwards fell short of the truth. He said, namely, that Italy had taken him on her shoulders and carried him into Rome.[3] And there Crassus also, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily met him and was reconciled with him, to gratify his son Publius, as he said, who was an ardent admirer of Cicero.

XXXIV. After allowing only a short time to pass and watching for an opportunity when Clodius was absent from the city, Cicero went up with a great company to the capitol, and there tore away and destroyed the tablets of the tribunes, in which were the records of their administration. When Clodius brought charges against him for this and Cicero argued that it was illegal for Clodius to pass from the ranks of the patricians into the tribunate,[4] and that therefore none of his acts was valid, Cato was indignant and spoke against Cicero; not that he approved of Clodius, nay, he was actually displeased at his political course, but he set forth that it was a

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[4] Clodius had secured an adoption into a plebeian family in order to become a candidate for the tribuneship. Cf. Cicero, *pro domo sua*, 29, 77.

ἀναίρεσιν ψηφίσασθαι δογμάτων καὶ πράξεων τοσούτων τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν αἷς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Βυζάντιον διοίκησιν. ἐκ τούτου προσέκρουσεν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτῷ πρόσκρουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς προελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαυρότερον.

XXXV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Κλώδιον μὲν ἀποκτίννυσι
Μίλων· καὶ διωκόμενος φόνου Κικέρωνα παρεστήσατο
συνήγορον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ
κινδυνεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ θυμοειδοῦς τοῦ
Μίλωνος ταραχὴ γένηται περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπέτρεψε
Πομπηΐῳ ταύτην τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κρίσεις
βραβεῦσαι, παρέχοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις
2 ἀσφάλειαν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι
νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων περιλαβόντος τοῖς στρατιώταις,
ὁ Μίλων τὸν Κικέρωνα δείσας μὴ πρὸς
τὴν ὄψιν ἀηθείᾳ διαταραχθεὶς χεῖρον διαγωνίσηται,
συνέπεισεν ἐν φορείῳ κομισθέντα πρὸς
τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡσυχάζειν, ἄχρι οὗ συνίασιν οἱ κριταὶ
3 καὶ πληροῦται τὸ δικαστήριον. ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ἦν,
ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὅπλοις ἀθαρσής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λέγειν
μετὰ φόβου προσῄει, καὶ μόλις ἂν ἐπαύσατο[1]
παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμὴν
τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος. Λικιννίῳ
δὲ Μουρήνᾳ φεύγοντι δίκην ὑπὸ Κάτωνος βοηθῶν,
καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος Ὁρτήσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν
εὐημερήσαντα, μέρος οὐδὲν ἀνεπαύσατο τῆς νυκτός,
ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φροντίσαι καὶ διαγρυπνῆσαι
κακωθεὶς ἐνδεέστερος αὐτοῦ φανῆναι.

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[1] ἂν ἐπαύσατο Graux with D (ἀνεπαύσατο M^{a}): ἐπαύσατο.

strange and violent measure for the senate to vote the abrogation of so many acts and decrees, among which were those for his own administration in Cyprus and Byzantium. This led to an antagonism between him and Cicero which came to no open manifestation, but made their friendly treatment of one another less marked.

XXXV. After this Clodius was killed by Milo;[1] and Milo, being prosecuted for murder, engaged Cicero as his advocate. But the senate was afraid that at the trial of Milo, who was a man of repute and high spirit, there might be a disturbance in the city, and therefore intrusted the superintendence of this and the other trials to Pompey, who was to furnish security for the city and the courts of justice. So Pompey, while it was still night, posted his soldiers on the heights so as to command the forum, and Milo, fearing that Cicero might be disturbed at the unusual sight and conduct his case less successfully, persuaded him to be brought in a litter to the forum and to wait there quietly until the jurors assembled and the court-room was filled. Now Cicero, as it would seem, was not only without courage under arms, but also felt fear when he began to speak, and in many trials he hardly ceased quivering and trembling after his eloquence had become high and sustained. When he was to plead for Licinius Murena in a case brought against him by Cato, and was ambitious to surpass Hortensius, who had made a successful plea, he took no rest at all during the night before, so that his lack of sleep and his great anxiety did him harm, and he was thought inferior

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[1] Early in 52 B.C. For this year Pompey had been made sole consul.

4 τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος δίκην ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Πομπήϊον ἄνω καθεζόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν ἀγοράν, συνεχύθη καὶ μόλις ἐνήρξατο τοῦ λόγου, κραδαινόμενος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνισχόμενος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ κόμην θρέψαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀπαξιώσαντος· ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Κικέρων διὰ ταῦτα φιλέταιρος μᾶλλον ἢ δειλὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

XXXVI. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οὓς Αὔγουρας
Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ Κράσσου τοῦ νέου
μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πάρθοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. εἶτα κλήρῳ
λαχὼν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Κιλικίαν καὶ στρατὸν ὁπλιτῶν
μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων
ἑξακοσίων, ἔπλευσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ
περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ
2 φίλα καὶ πειθήνια παρασχεῖν. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρεστήσατο
καὶ συνήρμοσεν ἀμέμπτως ἄτερ πολέμου,
τούς τε Κίλικας ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ Παρθικὸν 879
πταῖσμα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ νεωτερισμὸν
ἐπηρμένους κατεπράϋνεν ἡμέρως ἄρχων. καὶ δῶρα
μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων διδόντων ἔλαβε, δείπνων
δὲ τοὺς ἐπαρχικοὺς ἀνῆκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν
τοὺς χαρίεντας ἀνελάμβανεν ἑστιάσεσιν οὐ πολυτελῶς,
3 ἀλλ' ἐλευθερίως. ἡ δ' οἰκία θυρωρὸν οὐκ
εἶχεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὤφθη κατακείμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός,
ἀλλ' ἕωθεν ἑστὼς ἢ περιπατῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου
τοὺς ἀσπαζομένους ἐδεξιοῦτο. λέγεται δὲ μήτε

to himself in his plea. And so at this time, when he came out of his litter to plead Milo's cause and saw Pompey stationed on the heights as in a camp, and arms flashing all around the forum, he was confounded and could scarcely begin his speech, for his body quivered and his voice faltered; whereas Milo showed the good courage of a brave man at the trial and had not deigned to let his hair go untrimmed or to change his attire to a dark one; and this seems most of all to have contributed to his condemnation. However, Cicero's behaviour led men to think him devoted to his friends rather than cowardly.

XXXVI. He became also one of the priests whom the Romans call Augurs, in place of the younger Crassus, who had died among the Parthians.[1] Then the lot gave him Cilicia as his province, with an army of twelve thousand men-at-arms and twenty-six hundred horsemen, and he set sail,[2] with instructions to keep Cappadocia friendly and obedient to King Ariobarzanes. This he accomplished and arranged satisfactorily without war, and seeing that the Cilicians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government. Gifts he would not receive, not even when the kings offered them, and he relieved the provincials from the expense of entertainments; but he himself daily received men of pleasing accomplishments at banquets which were not expensive, although generous. His house, too, had no door-keeper, nor did anyone ever see him lying a-bed, but early in the morning he would stand or walk in front of his chamber and receive those who came to pay him their respects. It is

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[1] In 53 B.C. See the *Crassus*, chapter XXV.

[2] In 51 B.C.

ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαί τινα μήτ' ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι μήτε βλασφημίαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ ζημίας προσβαλεῖν
4 *μεθ' ὕβρεων. ἀνευρὼν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων κεκλεμμένα τάς τε πόλεις εὐπόρους ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς ἀποτίνοντας οὐδὲν τούτου πλεῖον παθόντας ἐπιτίμους διεφύλαξεν. ἥψατο δὲ καὶ πολέμου, λῃστὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν* Ἀμανὸν *οἰκούντων τρεψάμενος· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-*
5 *τῶν ἀνηγορεύθη.* Καιλίου[1] *δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δεομένου παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρός τινα θέαν εἰς* Ῥώμην *ἐκ* Κιλικίας *ἀποστεῖλαι, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρδάλεις ἐν* Κιλικίᾳ· *πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς* Καρίαν *ἀγανακτούσας ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων εἰρήνην ἐχόντων. πλέων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦτο μὲν* Ῥόδῳ *προσέσχε, τοῦτο δ'* Ἀθήναις *ἐνδιέτριψεν ἄσμενος πόθῳ τῶν πάλαι διατριβῶν.*
6 *ἀνδράσι δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπὸ παιδείας συγγενόμενος καὶ τοὺς τότε φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τὰ πρέποντα θαυμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς* Ἑλλάδος *εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον.*

XXXVII. Ἐν *μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ψηφιζομένων αὐτῷ θρίαμβον ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη παρακολουθῆσαι* Καίσαρι *θριαμβεύοντι συμβάσεων γενομένων· ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευε πολλὰ μὲν* Καίσαρι *γράφων,*

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[1] Καιλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: Κεκιλίου.

said, moreover, that he never ordered any man to be chastised with rods or to have his raiment torn from him, and that he never inflicted angry abuse or contumelious punishments. He discovered that much of the public property had been embezzled, and by restoring it he made the cities well-to-do, and men who made restitution he maintained in their civil rights without further penalties. He engaged in war, too, and routed the robbers who made their homes on Mount Amanus;[1] and for this he was actually saluted by his soldiers as Imperator. When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him panthers from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no panthers in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace.[2] On his voyage back from his province he first touched at Rhodes, and then gladly spent some time at Athens in fond remembrance of his old pursuits in that place. Then, after associating with men who were foremost for their learning, and after greeting his old-time friends and intimates, and after receiving from Greece the tokens of admiration that were his due, he returned to Rome,[3] where a violent inflammation, as it were, was already forcing matters on towards the civil war.

XXXVII. Accordingly, when the senators were voting him a triumph, he said he would more gladly follow in Caesar's triumphal procession if matters could be settled; and privately he gave much advice

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *ad fam.* ii. 10, 2 f.

[2] *Ad fam.* ii. 11, 2.

[3] January 4, 49 B.C. Cf. *ad fam.* xvi. 11, 2 f.

πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηΐου δεόμενος, πραΰνων
ἑκάτερον καὶ παραμυθούμενος. ὡς δ' ἦν ἀνήκεστα
καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπερχομένου Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἔμεινεν,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν
ἐξέλιπε, ταύτης μὲν ἀπελείφθη τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων,
2 ἔδοξε δὲ Καίσαρι προστίθεσθαι. καὶ δῆλός
ἐστι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰ ῥιπτασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα
καὶ δυσπαθήσας. γράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
διαπορεῖν ποτέρωσε χρὴ τρέπεσθαι, Πομπηΐου
μὲν ἔνδοξον καὶ καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἔχοντος, Καίσαρος δ' ἄμεινον τοῖς πράγμασι
χρωμένου καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους
σώζοντος, ὥστ' ἔχειν μὲν ὃν φύγῃ, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ
3 πρὸς ὃν φύγῃ. Τρεβατίου δέ, τινὸς τῶν Καίσαρος
ἑταίρων, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι Καῖσαρ οἴεται
δεῖν μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν, εἰ δ' ἀναδύεται διὰ
γῆρας, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βαδίζειν κἀκεῖ καθήμενον
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐκποδὼν ἀμφοτέροις γενόμενον,
θαυμάσας ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγραψεν,
ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὀργὴν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον
πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς
ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

XXXVIII. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀπάραντος, εὐθὺς ὡς Πομπήϊον ἔπλευσε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀσμένοις ὤφθη, Κάτων δ' αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἰδίᾳ πολλὰ κατεμέμφετο Πομπηΐῳ προσθέμενον· αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἣν

to Caesar by letter, and much to Pompey in person by way of personal entreaty, trying to mollify and pacify each of them. But when things were past healing, and Caesar was advancing upon the city, and Pompey did not stay there, but abandoned the city in the company of many good men, Cicero did not take part in this flight, and was thought to be attaching himself to Caesar. And it is clear that his judgement drew him strongly in both directions and that he was in distress. For he writes in his letters that he knew not which way he ought to turn, since Pompey had honourable and good grounds for going to war, while Caesar managed matters better and had more ability to save himself and his friends; he therefore knew from whom he should flee, but not to whom he should flee.[1] And when Trebatius, one of the companions of Caesar, wrote him a letter stating that Caesar thought he ought above all things to range himself on his side and share his hopes, but that if he declined to do this by reason of his age, he ought to go to Greece and take up a quiet life there out of the way of both, Cicero was amazed that Caesar himself did not write, and replied in a passion that he would do nothing unworthy of his political career. Such, then, is the purport of his letters.

XXXVIII. But when Caesar set out for Spain, Cicero at once sailed to Pompey.[2] The rest of Pompey's followers were glad to see him, but when Cato saw him, he privately blamed him much for attaching himself to Pompey. In his own case, Cato said, it was not honourable to abandon the

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[1] Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo (*ad Att.* viii. 7, 2).

[2] In April, 49 B.C., Caesar set out for Spain, and in June Cicero sailed for Greece.

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις εἰ μένων ἴσος ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γεγονέναι Καίσαρι καὶ τοσούτου μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεῦρ' ἥκειν.

2 Οὗτοί τε δὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνέστρεφον οἱ λόγοι 88
τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ μέγα μηδὲν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι
Πομπήϊον. αἴτιος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀρνούμενος
μεταμέλεσθαι, φλαυρίζων δὲ τοῦ Πομπηΐου τὴν
παρασκευὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ βουλεύματα δυσκολαίνων
ὑπούλως, καὶ τοῦ παρασκώπτειν τι καὶ λέγειν
χαρίεν εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ'
αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος ἀεὶ περιϊὼν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
καὶ σκυθρωπός, ἑτέροις δὲ παρέχων γέλωτα
3 μηδὲν δεομένοις. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα
παραθέσθαι. Δομιτίου τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τάξιν
ἡγεμονικὴν ἄγοντος οὐ πολεμικὸν καὶ λέγοντος ὡς
ἐπιεικὴς τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶ καὶ σώφρων, "Τί οὖν,"
εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν τοῖς τέκνοις φυλάσσεις;"
4 ἐπαινούντων δέ τινων Θεοφάνην τὸν Λέσβιον,
ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τεκτόνων ἔπαρχος,
ὡς εὖ παραμυθήσαιτο Ῥοδίους τὸν στόλον
ἀποβαλόντας, "Ἡλίκον," εἶπεν, "ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ
Γραικὸν ἔχειν ἔπαρχον." Καίσαρος δὲ κατορθοῦντος
τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πολιορκοῦντος
αὐτούς, Λέντλῳ μὲν εἰπόντι πυνθάνεσθαι

line of public policy which he had chosen from the beginning; but Cicero, though he was of more service to his country and his friends if he remained at home without taking sides and accommodated himself to the issue of events, without any reason and under no compulsion had made himself an enemy of Caesar, and had come thither to share in their great danger.

By these words the purpose of Cicero was upset, as well as by the fact that Pompey made no great use of him. But he was himself to blame for this, since he made no denial that he was sorry he had come, made light of Pompey's preparations and showed a lurking displeasure at his plans, and did not refrain from jests and witty remarks about his comrades in arms; nay, although he himself always went about in the camp without a smile and scowling, still he made others laugh in spite of themselves. And it will be well to give a few instances of this also. When Domitius, then, was advancing to a post of command a man who was no soldier, with the remark that he was gentle in his disposition and prudent, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him as a guardian of your children?" And when certain ones were praising Theophanes the Lesbian, who was prefect of engineers in the camp, because he had given excellent consolation to the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "What a great blessing it is," said Cicero, "to have a Greek as prefect!" Again, when Caesar was successful for the most part and in a way was laying siege to them,[1] Lentulus said he had heard

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[1] At Dyrrhachium. See the *Caesar*, xxxix.; Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 41–55.

στυγνοὺς εἶναι τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους, ἀπεκρί-
5 νατο· “Λέγεις αὐτοὺς δυσνοεῖν Καίσαρι.” Μαρ-
κίου δέ τινος ἥκοντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας νεωστὶ καὶ
λέγοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ φήμην ἐπικρατεῖν ὡς πολιορ-
κοῖτο Πομπήϊος, “Εἶτ᾽ ἐξέπλευσας,” εἶπεν, “ἵνα
τοῦτο πιστεύσῃς αὐτὸς θεασάμενος;” μετὰ δὲ
τὴν ἧτταν Νοννίου μὲν εἰπόντος ὅτι δεῖ χρηστὰς
ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἀετοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ τοῦ Πομπηΐου λελεῖφθαι, “Καλῶς ἄν,”
6 ἔφη, “παρῄνεις, εἰ κολοιοῖς ἐπολεμοῦμεν.” Λα-
βιηνοῦ δὲ μαντείαις τισὶν ἰσχυριζομένου καὶ λέ-
γοντος ὡς δεῖ περιγενέσθαι Πομπήϊον, “Οὐκοῦν,”
ἔφη, “στρατηγήματι τούτῳ χρώμενοι νῦν ἀποβε-
βλήκαμεν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρ-
σαλον μάχης, ἧς οὐ μετέσχε δι᾽ ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ
Πομπηΐου φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα
συχνὸν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν
ἐκεῖνον ἠξίου στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς
ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα προὔχοντα. διωθούμενος δὲ
τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὅλως φεύγων τὸ
συστρατεύεσθαι παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ἀναιρεθῆναι,
2 Πομπηΐου τοῦ νέου καὶ τῶν φίλων προδότην
ἀποκαλούντων καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασαμένων, εἰ μὴ
Κάτων ἐνστὰς μόλις ἀφείλετο καὶ διῆκεν αὐτὸν
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. κατασχὼν δ᾽ εἰς Βρεντέ-
σιον ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε, Καίσαρα περιμένων βρα-
δύνοντα διὰ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον
3 ἀσχολίας. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς Τάραντα καθωρμισμένος

that Caesar's friends were gloomy, to which Cicero replied: "You mean that they are ill-disposed to Caesar." And when a certain Marcius, who had recently come from Italy, spoke of a report which prevailed in Rome that Pompey was besieged, "And then," said Cicero, "did you sail off that you might see with your own eyes and believe?" Again, after the defeat, when Nonnius said they ought to have good hopes, since seven eagles were left in the camp of Pompey, "Your advice would be good," said Cicero, "if we were at war with jackdaws." And when Labienus, insisting on certain oracles, said that Pompey must prevail, "Yes," said Cicero, "this is the generalship that has now cost us our camp."

XXXIX. However, after the battle at Pharsalus,[1] in which Cicero took no part because of illness, had been fought, and Pompey was in flight, Cato, who had a considerable army and a large fleet at Dyrrhachium, asked Cicero to take the command in accordance with custom and because of his superior consular rank. But Cicero rejected the command and was altogether averse to sharing in the campaign, whereupon he came near being killed; for the young Pompey and his friends called him a traitor and drew their swords upon him, and that would have been the end of him had not Cato interposed and with difficulty rescued him and sent him away from the camp.[2] So Cicero put in at Brundisium and tarried there, waiting for Caesar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. But when word was brought that Caesar had landed at

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[1] In August, 48 B.C.

[2] Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lv. 3.

ἀπηγγέλλετο καὶ πεζῇ περιϊὼν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βρεντέσιον,
ὥρμησε πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ πάνυ μὲν ὢν
δύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνδρὸς
ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν πεῖραν. οὐ
μὴν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ πρᾶξαί τι παρ' ἀξίαν ἢ εἰπεῖν.
4 ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπαντῶντα, κατέβη καὶ ἠσπάσατο καὶ
διαλεγόμενος μόνῳ συχνῶν σταδίων ὁδὸν προῆλθεν.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος,
ὥστε καὶ γράψαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος
ἀντιγράφων τόν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἐοικότα καὶ
5 Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος
λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοΐντου Λιγαρίου δίκην φεύγοντος
ὅτι τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμίων εἷς ἐγεγόνει,
καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἰπεῖν τὸν
Καίσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· "Τί κωλύει διὰ
χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλαι
6 κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ[1] καὶ πολέμιος;" ἐπεὶ δ'
ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει καὶ 881
προὔβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι
θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἰέναι χρόας ἐπὶ
τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καίσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατάδηλον εἶναι, τέλος δὲ τῶν
κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἁψαμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων
ἐκπαθῆ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῆς
χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἔνια τῶν γραμματείων. τὸν
γοῦν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος.

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[1] ὁ ἀνὴρ Bekker, after Schaefer: ἀνήρ.

Tarentum[1] and was coming round by land from there to Brundisium, Cicero hastened to meet him, being not altogether despondent, but feeling shame to test in the presence of many witnesses the temper of a man who was an enemy and victorious. However, there was no need that he should do or say anything unworthy of himself. For Caesar, when he saw him approaching far in advance of the rest, got down and embraced him and journeyed on for many furlongs conversing with him alone. And after this he continued to show him honour and kindness, so that in his reply to the encomium upon Cato which Cicero wrote he praised Cicero's eloquence and his life, as most resembling that of Pericles and Theramenes. Now, the discourse of Cicero was entitled "Cato," and that of Caesar "Anti-Cato."

It is said also that when Quintus Ligarius was under prosecution because he had been one of the enemies of Caesar, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends: "What is to prevent our hearing a speech from Cicero after all this while, since Ligarius has long been adjudged a villain and an enemy?" But when Cicero had begun to speak and was moving his hearers beyond measure, and his speech, as it proceeded, showed varying pathos and amazing grace, Caesar's face often changed colour and it was manifest that all the emotions of his soul were stirred; and at last, when the orator touched upon the struggles at Pharsalus,[2] he was so greatly affected that his body shook and he dropped from his hand some of his documents. At any rate he acquitted Ligarius under compulsion.

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[1] In September, 47 B.C.

[2] Cf. *pro Ligario*, 9, 27 f.

XL. Ἐκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστώσης, ἀφέμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νέων, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὄντας, αὖθις
2 ἴσχυεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον. αὐτῷ δ' ἔργον μὲν ἦν τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγους καὶ μεταφράζειν, καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἢ φυσικῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον· ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν, ὥς φασιν, ὁ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἀμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξονομάσας πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ μὲν μεταφοραῖς, τὰ δ' οἰκειότησιν ἄλλαις γνώριμα
3 καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενος. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποίησιν εὐκολίᾳ παίζων ἐχρῆτο. λέγεται γάρ, ὁπηνίκα ῥυείη πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπη ποιεῖν πεντακόσια.

Τὸ μεν οὖν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου τούτου περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐν χωρίοις αὐτοῦ διάγων ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους Λαέρτου βίον ζῆν, εἴτε παίζων, ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας σπαργῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀδημονῶν τοῖς καθεστῶσι.
4 σπανίως δ' εἰς ἄστυ θεραπείας ἕνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος κατῄει, καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν συναγορευόντων ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λέγειν ἀεί τι καινὸν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα φιλοτιμουμένων. οἷόν ἐστι

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[1] In Latin, respectively, visum (*conception*), assensio (*assent*), assensionis retentio (*withholding of assent*), comprehensio (*perception*), individuum (*atom*), vacuum (*void*); "ameres"

XL. After this, when the government had been changed to a monarchy, Cicero abstained from public affairs and devoted his time to those of the young men who wished to study philosophy, and mainly from his intimacy with these, since they were of the highest birth and standing, he was once more very influential in the state. He made it his business also to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render into Latin the several terms of dialectics and natural philosophy; for he it was, as they say, who first, or principally, provided Latin names for "phantasia," "synkatathesis," "epokhe," and "katalepsis," as well as for "atomon," "ameres," "kenon,"[1] and many others like these, contriving partly by metaphors and partly by new and fitting terms to make them intelligible and familiar. His facility in verse-making, too, he employed to divert himself. It is said, indeed, that when he applied himself to such work, he would make five hundred verses in a night.

During this time, then, he lived for the most part at his country-seat in Tusculum, and he used to write to his friends that he was living the life of Laertes,[2] either jesting, as was his wont, or because his ambition filled him with a desire for public activity and made him dissatisfied with the turn things had taken. He rarely went down to the city, and then only to pay court to Caesar, and he was foremost among those who advocated Caesar's honours and were eager to be ever saying something new about him and his measures. Of this sort is

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(*indivisible*), with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the extant works of Cicero (Gudeman).

[2] Cf. *Odyssey*, i. 189 ff.

καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πομπηΐου λεχθὲν εἰκόνων, ἃς ἀνῃρημένας καὶ καταβεβλημένας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταθῆναι· καὶ ἀνεστάθησαν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηΐου ἵστησι, τοὺς δ' αὑτοῦ πήγνυσιν ἀνδριαντας.

XLI. Διανοούμενος δ', ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πάτριον
ἱστορίαν γραφῇ περιλαβεῖν καὶ πολλὰ συμμῖξαι
τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὅλως τοὺς συνηγμένους λό-
γους αὐτῷ καὶ μύθους ἐνταῦθα τρέψαι, πολλοῖς
μὲν δημοσίοις, πολλοῖς δ' ἰδίοις κατελήφθη πρά-
γμασιν ἀβουλήτοις καὶ πάθεσιν, ὧν αὐθαίρετα
2 δοκεῖ πλεῖστα συμβῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπε-
πέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀμεληθεὶς ὑπ'
αὐτῆς παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων ἐφοδίων ἐνδεὴς ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ μηδ' ὅτε
κατῆρεν αὖθις εἰς Ἰταλίαν τυχεῖν εὐγνώμονος.
αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθεν, ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρί-
βοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐρχομένῃ δὲ τῇ θυ-
γατρί, παιδίσκῃ νέᾳ, τοσαύτην ὁδόν, οὐ πομπὴν
πρέπουσαν, οὐ χορηγίαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πάντων ἔρημον καὶ κενὴν
ἀπέδειξεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις.
3 αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ λεγόμεναι τῆς διαστάσεως
εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις. τῇ δὲ Τερεντίᾳ καὶ
ταύτας ἀρνουμένῃ λαμπρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπολο-
γίαν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον γήμας
παρθένον, ὡς μὲν ἡ Τερεντία κατεφήμιζεν, ἔρωτι
τῆς ὥρας, ὡς δὲ Τίρων ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύ-

what he said about the statues of Pompey. These Caesar ordered to be set up again after they had been thrown down and taken away; and they were set up again. What Cicero said was that by this act of generosity Caesar did indeed set up the statues of Pompey, but firmly planted his own also.

XLI. He purposed, as we are told, to write a comprehensive history of his native country, combining with it many Greek details, and introducing there all the tales and myths which he had collected; but he was prevented by many public affairs which were contrary to his wishes, and by many private troubles, most of which seem to have been of his own choosing. For in the first place he divorced his wife Terentia because he had been neglected by her during the war, so that he set out in lack of the necessary means for his journey, and even when he came back again to Italy did not find her considerate of him. For she did not come to him herself, although he tarried a long time at Brundisium, and when her daughter, a young girl,[1] made the long journey thither, she supplied her with no fitting escort and with no means; nay, she actually stripped and emptied Cicero's house of all that it contained, besides incurring many large debts. These, indeed, are the most plausible reasons given for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied that these were the reasons, and Cicero himself made her defence a telling one by marrying shortly afterwards a maiden.[2] This he did, as Terentia asserted, out of love for her youthful beauty; but as Tiro, Cicero's freedman, has written,

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[1] Tullia was old enough to have lost her first husband and married a second (§ 5).

[2] Publilia, of patrician family.

θερος γέγραφεν, εὐπορίας ἕνεκεν πρὸς διάλυσιν
4 δανείων. ἦν γὰρ ἡ παῖς σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ
τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐν πίστει κληρονόμος
ἀπολειφθεὶς διεφύλαττεν. ὀφείλων δὲ πολλὰς
μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπείσθη τὴν
παῖδα γῆμαι παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς 882
ἀπαλλάξαι τοῖς ἐκείνης χρησάμενον. Ἀντώνιος
δὲ τοῦ γάμου μνησθεὶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς
ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτόν φησι γυναῖκα
παρ' ᾗ ἐγήρασε· χαριέντως ἅμα τὴν οἰκουρίαν ὡς
ἀπράκτου καὶ ἀστρατεύτου παρασκώπτων τοῦ
5 Κικέρωνος. γήμαντι δ' αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον
ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα παρὰ Λέντλῳ·
τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγαμήθη μετὰ τὴν Πείσωνος τοῦ προτέρου
ἀνδρὸς τελευτήν. καὶ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐπὶ
τὴν παραμυθίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πανταχόθεν οἱ
φίλοι·[1] βαρέως δ' ἄγαν ἤνεγκε τὸ συμβεβηκός,
ὥστε καὶ τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι δόξασαν
ἡσθῆναι τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς Τυλλίας.

XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατ' οἶκον οὕτως εἶχε τῷ
Κικέρωνι. τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνισταμένης
πράξεως οὐ μετέσχε, καίπερ ὢν ἑταῖρος ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα Βρούτου καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τὰ παρόντα
καὶ τὰ πάλαι ποθεῖν πράγματα δοκῶν ὡς ἕτερος
οὐδείς. ἀλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τήν τε
φύσιν ὡς ἐνδεᾶ τόλμης, τόν τε χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
ταῖς ἐρρωμενεστάταις φύσεσιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ θαρρεῖν.
2 ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπέπρακτο τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ
Κάσσιον τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων συνισταμένων
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὖθις ἦν δέος ἐμφυλίοις
πολέμοις περιπετῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀντώ-

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[1] *φίλοι* Graux, after Volkmann: *φιλόσοφοι*.

to get means for the payment of his debts. For the girl was very wealthy, and Cicero had been left her trustee and had charge of her property. So since he owed many tens of thousands he was persuaded by his friends and relatives to marry the girl, old as he was, and to get rid of his creditors by using her money. But Antony, who spoke of the marriage in his replies to Cicero's Philippics, says that he cast out of doors the wife with whom he had grown old, and at the same time makes witty jibes upon the stay-at-home habits of Cicero, who was, he said, unfit for business or military service. Not long after Cicero's marriage his daughter died in child-birth at the house of Lentulus, to whom she had been married after the death of Piso, her former husband. His friends came together from all quarters to comfort Cicero; but his grief at his misfortune was excessive, so that he actually divorced the wife he had wedded, because she was thought to be pleased at the death of Tullia.

XLII. Such, then, were Cicero's domestic affairs. But in the design that was forming against Caesar he took no part, although he was one of the closest companions of Brutus and was thought to be distressed at the present and to long for the old state of affairs more than anybody else. But the conspirators feared his natural disposition as being deficient in daring, and his time of life, in which courage fails the strongest natures. And so, when the deed had been accomplished by the partisans of Brutus and Cassius,[1] and the friends of Caesar were combining against the perpetrators of it, and it was feared that the city would again be plunged into civil

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[1] On the Ides of March, 44 B.C.

νιος μὲν ὑπατεύων τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγε καὶ
βραχέα διελέχθη περὶ ὁμονοίας, Κικέρων δὲ πολλὰ
πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν οἰκείως διελθὼν ἔπεισε τὴν
σύγκλητον Ἀθηναίους μιμησαμένην ἀμνηστίαν
τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι ψηφίσασθαι, νεῖμαι δὲ τοῖς
3 περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐπαρχίας. ἔσχε δὲ
τούτων τέλος οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφ'
ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς οἶκτον ἐξαχθεὶς ὡς εἶδε τὸν νεκρὸν
ἐκκομιζόμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς, Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐσθῆτα δείξαντος αὐτοῖς αἵματος κατάπλεων καὶ
κεκομμένην πάντη τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκμανέντες ὑπ'
ὀργῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔθεον ὡς ὑφάψοντες.
οἱ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν τῷ προπεφυλάχθαι
διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ἑτέρους δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ
μεγάλους προσδοκῶντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

XLIII. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπῆρτο, καὶ
πᾶσι μὲν ἦν φοβερὸς ὡς μοναρχήσων, τῷ δὲ
Κικέρωνι φοβερώτατος. ἀναρρωννυμένην τε γὰρ
αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁρῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
καὶ τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον ἐπιτήδειον εἰδὼς ἤχθετο
παρόντι. καί πού τι καὶ προϋπῆρχεν ὑποψίας
αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων ἀνομοιότητα
2 καὶ διαφοράν. ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Κικέρων
πρῶτον μὲν ὥρμησε πρεσβευτὴς Δολοβέλλᾳ
συνεκπλεῦσαι εἰς Συρίαν· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες
ὑπατεύειν μετ' Ἀντώνιον, Ἵρτιος καὶ Πάνσας,
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐδέοντο
μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ὑποδεχόμενοι καταλύ-

wars, Antony, as consul, convened the senate and said a few words about concord, while Cicero, after a lengthy speech appropriate to the occasion, persuaded the senate to imitate the Athenians[1] and decree an amnesty for the attack upon Caesar, and to assign provinces to Cassius and Brutus. But none of these things came to pass. For when the people, who of themselves were strongly moved to pity, saw Caesar's body carried through the forum, and when Antony showed them the garments drenched with blood and pierced everywhere with the swords, they went mad with rage and sought for the murderers in the forum, and ran to their houses with firebrands in order to set them ablaze. For this danger the conspirators were prepared beforehand and so escaped it,[2] but expecting others many and great, they forsook the city.

XLIII. At once, then, Antony was highly elated, and all men were fearful that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero most fearful of all. For Antony saw that Cicero's power in the state was reviving, and knew that he was attached to Brutus and his party, and was therefore disturbed at his presence in the city. And besides, they had previously been somewhat suspicious of one another because of the marked difference in their lives. Fearing these things Cicero at first was inclined to sail to Syria with Dolabella, as his legate; but the consuls elect to succeed Antony,[3] Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men and admirers of Cicero, begged him not to desert them, and undertook

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[1] These declared a general amnesty after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C.

[2] Cf. Plutarch's *Brutus*, chapter xx.

[3] In 43 B.C.

σειν Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου παρόντος, ὁ δ' οὔτ' ἀπιστῶν παντάπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων Δολοβέλλαν μὲν εἴασε χαίρειν, ὁμολογήσας δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἵρτιον τὸ θέρος ἐν Ἀθήναις διάξειν, ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖνοι παραλάβωσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν, αὐτὸς
3 *καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξέπλευσε. γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν διατριβῆς, καὶ λόγων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οἷα φιλεῖ, καινῶν προσπεσόντων, μεταβεβλῆσθαι μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμαστὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ πάντα πράττειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐνδεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας τὰ πράγματα μὴ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχειν διάθεσιν, καταμεμψάμενος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀνέστρεφεν*
4 *αὖθις εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ τῶν πρώτων οὐ διημάρτανεν ἐλπίδων· τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ πόθου πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἐξεχύθη, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμερήσιον ἀνήλωσαν χρόνον αἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῦ δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βουλὴν συναγαγόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἦλθεν,* 883 *ἀλλὰ κατέκειτο μαλακῶς ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου σκη-*
5 *πτόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ τἀληθὲς ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι φόβος ἔκ τινος ὑποψίας καὶ μηνύσεως καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης. Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἢ καταπρῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν κελεύσας, ἐνστάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ δεηθέντων ἐνέχυρα*
6 *λαβὼν μόνον ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀντιπαρεξιόντες ἀτρέμα καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διετέ-*

to put down Antony if Cicero would remain at Rome. So Cicero, who neither distrusted nor trusted them altogether, let Dolabella go without him, and after agreeing with Hirtius and Pansa to spend the summer at Athens, and to come back again when they had assumed office, set off by himself. But there was some delay about his voyage, and, as is often the case, new and unexpected reports came from Rome, to the effect that Antony had undergone a wonderful change and was doing and administering everything to please the senate, and that matters needed only Cicero's presence to assume the best possible complexion; he therefore blamed himself for his excessive caution and turned back again to Rome. And in his first expectations he was not disappointed; for a great crowd of people, moved with joy and longing for him, poured forth to meet him, and almost a day's time was consumed in the friendly greetings given him at the gates and as he entered the city. On the following day, however, when Antony convened the senate and invited him to be present, Cicero did not come, but kept his bed, pretending to be indisposed from fatigue. The truth, however, seemed to be that he was afraid of a plot against him, in consequence of some suspicion and of information that had unexpectedly come to him on the road. But Antony was indignant at the implication and sent soldiers with orders to bring Cicero or burn down his house; but since many opposed this course and entreated him to desist, he did so, after merely taking sureties. And thenceforward they kept up this attitude, quietly ignoring one another and mutually on their guard,

λουν, ἄχρι οὗ Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας
παραγενόμενος τόν τε κλῆρον ἀνεδέξατο τοῦ
Καίσαρος ἐκείνου, καὶ περὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων
μυριάδων ἃς Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας
κατεῖχεν, εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς αὐτόν.

XLIV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα
τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἔχων καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ τὴν
ἀδελφὴν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν
Κικέρωνα συνέθεντο, Κικέρωνα μὲν ἐκείνῳ τὴν
ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας δύναμιν
ἔν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέχειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ
Κικέρωνι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ὅπλων
ἀσφάλειαν. ἤδη γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ὑπὸ
Καίσαρι στρατευσαμένων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε τὸ
2 μειράκιον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτία γεγονεναι
τοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα δέξασθαι προθύμως τὴν
Καίσαρος φιλίαν. ἔτι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, Πομπηΐου
ζῶντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
ὁ Κικέρων καλεῖν τινα τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν
παῖδας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς μέλλοντος ἐξ
αὐτῶν ἕνα τοῦ Διὸς ἀποδεικνύειν τῆς Ῥώμης
3 ἡγεμόνα· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέοντας
ἵστασθαι περὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν
ταῖς περιπορφύροις καθέζεσθαι σιωπὴν ἔχοντας.
ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν καθ' ἕνα τῶν
παίδων ἀνισταμένων κύκλῳ παρὰ τὸν θεὸν παραπορεύεσθαι,
τὸν δὲ πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν
ἀχθομένους. ὡς δ' οὗτος ἦν προσιὼν
κατ' αὐτόν, ἐκτεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ εἰπεῖν·
"Ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πέρας ὑμῖν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων
4 οὗτος ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος." τοιοῦτόν φασιν ἐνύ-

until the young Caesar came from Apollonia,[1] assumed the inheritance of the elder Caesar, and engaged in a dispute with Antony concerning the twenty-five million drachmas which Antony was detaining from the estate.[2]

XLIV. After this, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who had married the sister of the young Caesar, came with the young man to Cicero and made a compact that Cicero should give Caesar the influence derived from his eloquence and political position, both in the senate and before the people, and that Caesar should give Cicero the security to be derived from his wealth and his armed forces. For already the young man had about him many of the soldiers who had served under the elder Caesar. It was thought, too, that there was a stronger reason why Cicero readily accepted the young man's friendship. For it would appear that while Pompey and Caesar were still living Cicero dreamed that someone invited the sons of the senators to the Capitol, on the ground that Jupiter was going to appoint one of their number ruler of Rome; and that the citizens eagerly ran and stationed themselves about the temple, while the youths, in their purple-bordered togas, seated themselves there in silence. Suddenly the door of the temple opened, and one by one the youths rose and walked round past the god, who reviewed them all and sent them away sorrowing. But when this young Caesar advanced into his presence the god stretched out his hand and said: "O Romans, ye shall have an end of civil wars when this youth has become your ruler." By such a dream as

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[1] Where he was studying.

[2] Caesar's widow had made Antony guardian of the estate.

πνιον ἰδόντα τὸν Κικέρωνα τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκμεμάχθαι καὶ κατέχειν ἐναργῶς, αὐτὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς παῖδας ἤδη γεγυμνασμένους ἀπέρχεσθαι, κἀκεῖνον ὀφθῆναι τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον οἷος ὤφθη καθ' ὕπνον, ἐκπλαγέντα δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τίνων εἴη
5 γονέων. ἦν δὲ πατρὸς Ὀκταουΐου τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, Ἀττίας δὲ μητρός, ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος. ὅθεν Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ παῖδας οὐκ ἔχων ἰδίους τὴν οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τῷ παιδὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελῶς, κἀκεῖνον οἰκείως δέχεσθαι τὰς φιλοφροσύνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γεγονέναι συμβεβήκει Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος.

XLV. Αὗται μὲν οὖν προφάσεις ἦσαν αἱ λεγόμεναι·[1] τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μῖσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἶτα ἡ φύσις ἥττων οὖσα τιμῆς προσεποίησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπῄει τὸ μειράκιον αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ πατέρα προσα-
2 γορεύειν. ἐφ' ᾧ σφόδρα Βροῦτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καθήψατο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπεύων τὸν Καίσαρα δῆλός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων, ἀλλὰ δεσπότην φιλάνθρωπον αὑτῷ μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τόν γε παῖδα

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[1] αἱ λεγόμεναι Bekker, after Reiske: λεγόμεναι.

this, they say, Cicero had impressed upon him the appearance of the youth, and retained it distinctly, but did not know him.[1] The next day, however, as he was going down to the Campus Martius, the youths, who had just finished exercising there, were coming away, and the youth of his dream was seen by Cicero for the first time, and Cicero, amazed, inquired who his parents were. Now, his father was Octavius, a man of no great prominence, but his mother was Attia, a daughter of Caesar's sister. For this reason Caesar, who had no children of his own, willed his property and his family name to him. After this, it is said, Cicero took pains to converse with the youth when they met, and the youth welcomed his kind attentions; and indeed it happened that he was born during Cicero's consulship.

XLV. These, then, were the reasons that were mentioned; but it was Cicero's hatred for Antony in the first place, and then his natural craving for honour, that attached him to the young Caesar, since he thought to add Caesar's power to his own political influence. And indeed the young man carried his court to him so far as actually to call him father. At this Brutus was very angry, and in his letters to Atticus attacked Cicero, saying that in paying court to Caesar through fear of Antony he was plainly not obtaining liberty for his country, but wooing a kind master for himself.[2] However, Brutus took up

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[1] According to Dion Cassius (xlv. 2) and Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 94), Cicero dreamed that Octavius was let down from heaven by a chain of gold, and presented with a whip by Jupiter.

[2] Cicero, *ad Brutum*, i. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus).

Κικέρωνος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβοντα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀναλαβὼν ἔσχεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας, καὶ πολλὰ χρώμενος αὐτῷ κατώρθου.

3 Τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἀκμὴν ἔσχεν ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μεγίστην, καὶ κρατῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο 884 τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐξέκρουσε καὶ κατεστασίασε καὶ πολεμήσοντας αὐτῷ τοὺς δύο ὑπάτους, Ἵρτιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ἐξέπεμψε, Καίσαρι δὲ ῥαβδούχους καὶ στρατηγικὸν κόσμον, ὡς δὴ προπολεμοῦντι τῆς πατρίδος, ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι 4 τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἥττητο, τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀποθανόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης πρὸς Καίσαρα συνέστησαν αἱ δυνάμεις, δείσασα δ' ἡ βουλὴ νέον ἄνδρα καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ κεχρημένον ἐπειρᾶτο τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀποκαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ περισπᾶν τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ δεομένη τῶν προπολεμούντων 5 Ἀντωνίου πεφευγότος, οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπεμπε τῷ Κικέρωνι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πείθοντας ὑπατείαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοῦ πράττειν, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκε, παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον διοικεῖν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης γλιχόμενον. ὡμολόγει δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ὡς δεδιὼς κατάλυσιν καὶ κινδυνεύων ἔρημος γενέσθαι χρήσαιτο τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ, προτρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι συμπράττοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος.

Cicero's son who was studying philosophy at Athens, gave him a command, and achieved many successes through his instrumentality.[1]

Cicero's power in the city reached its greatest height at this time, and since he could do what he pleased, he raised a successful faction against Antony, drove him out of the city, and sent out the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to wage war upon him, while he persuaded the senate to vote Caesar the lictors and insignia of a praetor, on the ground that he was fighting in defence of the country. But after Antony had been defeated,[2] and, both consuls having died after the battle, the forces had united under Caesar, the senate became afraid of a young man who had enjoyed such brilliant good fortune, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to call his troops away from him and to circumscribe his power, on the ground that there was no need of defensive armies now that Antony had taken to flight. Under these circumstances Caesar took alarm and secretly sent messengers to Cicero begging and urging him to obtain the consulship for them both, but to manage affairs as he himself thought best, after assuming the office, and to direct in all things a youthful colleague who only craved name and fame. And Caesar himself admitted afterwards that it was the fear of having his troops disbanded and the danger of finding himself left alone which led him to make use in an emergency of Cicero's love of power, by inducing him to sue for the consulship with his co-operation and assistance in the canvass.

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[1] Cf. the *Brutus*, xxiv. 2; xxvi. 3.

[2] Near Mutina, a city in Gallia Cispadana, early in the year 43 B.C. Octavius Caesar acted in conjunction with the two consuls. Cf. Appian, *B.C.*, iii. 71.

XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι μάλιστα Κικέρων
ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ νέου γέρων καὶ φενακισθεὶς καὶ
συναρχαιρεσιάσας καὶ παρασχὼν αὐτῷ τὴν
σύγκλητον εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αἰτίαν εἶχεν,
ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἀπολωλεκὼς ᾔσθετο καὶ
2 τοῦ δήμου προέμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. αὐξηθεὶς
γὰρ ὁ νεανίας καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν λαβὼν Κικέρωνα
μὲν εἴασε χαίρειν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ φίλος
γενόμενος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ταὐτὸ συνενεγκών,
ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνείματο
πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ κατεγράφησαν ἄνδρες οὓς ἔδει
θνήσκειν, ὑπὲρ διακοσίους. πλείστην δὲ τῶν
ἀμφισβητημάτων αὐτοῖς ἔριν ἡ Κικέρωνος προγραφὴ
παρέσχεν, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντος
εἰ μὴ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἀποθνήσκοι, Λεπίδου
δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προστιθεμένου, Καίσαρος δὲ πρὸς
3 ἀμφοτέρους ἀντέχοντος. ἐγίνοντο δ' αἱ σύνοδοι
μόνοις ἀπόρρητοι περὶ πόλιν Βονωνίαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας
τρεῖς, καὶ συνῄεσαν εἰς τόπον τινὰ πρόσω τῶν
στρατοπέδων ποταμῷ περιρρεόμενον. λέγεται δὲ
τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Κικέρωνος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνδοῦναι τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ προέσθαι
τὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως οὕτως
4 εἶχεν. ἔδει Κικέρωνος ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα, Παύλου
δὲ τἀδελφοῦ Λέπιδον, Λευκίου δὲ Καίσαρος
Ἀντώνιον, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός. οὕτως
ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ λύσσης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
λογισμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπέδειξαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου
θηρίον ἐστὶν ἀγριώτερον ἐξουσίαν πάθει προσλαβόντος.

XLVII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦν
μὲν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἰδίοις περὶ Τοῦσκλον, ἔχων τὸν

XLVI. Here, indeed, more than at any other time, Cicero was led on and cheated, an old man by a young man. He assisted Caesar in his canvass and induced the senate to favour him. For this he was blamed by his friends at the time, and shortly afterwards he perceived that he had ruined himself and betrayed the liberty of the people. For after the young man had waxed strong and obtained the consulship,[1] he gave Cicero the go-by, and after making friends with Antony and Lepidus and uniting his forces with theirs, he divided the sovereignty with them, like any other piece of property. And a list was made out by them of men who must be put to death, more than two hundred in number. The proscription of Cicero, however, caused most strife in their debates, Antony consenting to no terms unless Cicero should be the first man to be put to death, Lepidus siding with Antony, and Caesar holding out against them both. They held secret meetings by themselves near the city of Bononia for three days, coming together in a place at some distance from the camps and surrounded by a river. It is said that for the first two days Caesar kept up his struggle to save Cicero, but yielded on the third and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were as follows. Caesar was to abandon Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle on the mother's side. So far did anger and fury lead them to renounce their human sentiments, or rather, they showed that no wild beast is more savage than man when his passion is supplemented by power.

XLVII. While this was going on, Cicero was at his own country-seat in Tusculum, having his brother with

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[1] In August, 43 B.C., when only twenty years of age.

ἀδελφὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ· πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς προγραφὰς
ἔγνωσαν εἰς Ἄστυρα μεταβῆναι, χωρίον παράλιον
τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν
πρὸς Βροῦτον· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐφοίτα
κρατοῦντος. ἐκομίζοντο δ' ἐν φορείοις ἀπειρηκότες
ὑπὸ λύπης· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφιστάμενοι καὶ
τὰ φορεῖα παραβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις προσωλοφύροντο.
2 μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Κόϊντος ἠθύμει, καὶ
λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῄει τῆς ἀπορίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἔφη λαβεῖν οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι
γλίσχρον ἦν ἐφόδιον· ἄμεινον οὖν εἶναι τὸν μὲν
Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ, αὐτὸν δὲ μεταθεῖν
οἴκοθεν συσκευασάμενον. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ
περιλαβόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνακλαυσάμενοι
διελύθησαν.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόϊντος οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν προδοθεὶς τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀνῃρέθη
μετὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰς Ἄστυρα
κομισθεὶς καὶ πλοῖον εὑρὼν εὐθὺς ἐνέβη καὶ 885
παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκαίου, πνεύματι χρώμενος.
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἴρειν τῶν κυβερνητῶν,
εἴτε δείσας τὴν θάλασσαν εἴτ' οὔπω
παντάπασι τὴν Καίσαρος ἀπεγνωκὼς πίστιν,
ἀπέβη καὶ παρῆλθε πεζῇ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ὡς εἰς
4 Ῥώμην πορευόμενος. αὖθις δ' ἀλύων καὶ μεταβαλλόμενος
κατῄει πρὸς θάλασσαν εἰς Ἄστυρα.
κἀκεῖ διενυκτέρευσεν ἐπὶ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων
λογισμῶν, ὥστε καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος
οἰκίαν διενοήθη κρύφα καὶ σφάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ

him; but when they learned of the proscriptions they determined to remove to Astura, a place of Cicero's on the sea-coast, and from there to sail to Brutus in Macedonia; for already a report was current that he was in force there. So they were carried along in litters, being worn out with grief; and on the way they would halt, and with their litters placed side by side would lament to one another. But Quintus was the more dejected and began to reflect upon his destitute condition; for he said that he had taken nothing from home, nay, Cicero too had scanty provision for the journey; it was better, then, he said, that Cicero should press on in his flight, but that he himself should get what he wanted from home and then hasten after him. This they decided to do, and after embracing one another and weeping aloud, they parted.

So then Quintus, not many days afterwards, was betrayed by his servants to those who were in search of him, and put to death, together with his son. But Cicero was brought to Astura, and finding a vessel there he embarked at once and coasted along as far as Circaeum, with the wind in his favour. From there his pilots wished to set sail at once, but Cicero, whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet altogether given up his trust in Caesar, went ashore and travelled along on foot a hundred furlongs in the direction of Rome. But again losing resolution and changing his mind, he went down to the sea at Astura. And there he spent the night in dreadful and desperate calculations; he actually made up his mind to enter Caesar's house by stealth, to slay himself upon the hearth, and so to fasten upon Caesar an

τῆς ἑστίας ἀλάστορα προσβαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπέκρουσε τῆς ὁδοῦ δέος βασάνων· καὶ πολλὰ[1] ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλεύματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἑαυτὸν εἰς Καιήτην[2] κατὰ πλοῦν κομίζειν, ἔχων ἐκεῖ χωρία καὶ καταφυγὴν ὥρᾳ θέρους φιλάνθρωπον, ὅταν ἥδιστον οἱ ἐτησίαι καταπνέωσιν.

5 Ἔχει δ' ὁ τόπος καὶ ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος μικρὸν
ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης. ἐντεῦθεν ἀρθέντες ἀθρόοι
κόρακες ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς προσεφέροντο τῷ πλοίῳ
τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ γῆν ἐρεσσομένῳ· καὶ καθίσαντες
ἐπὶ τὴν κεραίαν ἑκατέρωθεν οἱ μὲν ἐβόων,
οἱ δ' ἔκοπτον τὰς τῶν μηρυμάτων ἀρχάς, καὶ
πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι πονηρόν. ἀπέβη
δ' οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν
6 ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενος κατεκλίθη. τῶν δὲ κοράκων
οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος διεκάθηντο φθεγγόμενοι
θορυβῶδες, εἷς δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον
ἐγκεκαλυμμένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπῆγε τῷ στόματι
κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ ἱμάτιον. οἱ
δ' οἰκέται ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες, καὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς
εἰ περιμένουσι τοῦ δεσπότου φονευομένου θεαταὶ
γενέσθαι, θηρία δ' αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ καὶ προκήδεται
παρ' ἀξίαν πράττοντος, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνουσι,
τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ λαβόντες ἐκόμιζον ἐν
τῷ φορείῳ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

XLVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ σφαγεῖς ἐπῆλθον, ἑκατοντάρχης Ἑρέννιος καὶ Ποπίλλιος χιλίαρχος,

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[1] πολλὰ Graux, after Coraës: τἆλλα.

[2] Καιήτην Coraës and Bekker, after Wyttenbach; Καιήτας Sintenis (in notes), and Graux; Καπίτας MSS.

avenging daemon. But a fear of tortures drove him from this course also; then, revolving in his mind many confused and contradictory purposes, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be taken by sea to Caieta, where he had lands and an agreeable retreat in summer time, when the breath of the Etesian winds is most pleasant.

The place has also a temple of Apollo, a little above the sea. From thence a flock of crows flew with loud clamour towards the vessel of Cicero as it was rowed towards land; and alighting on either end of the sail-yard, some cawed, and others pecked at the ends of the ropes, and everybody thought that the omen was bad. Nevertheless Cicero landed, and going to his villa lay down to rest. Then most of the crows perched themselves about the window, cawing tumultuously, but one of them flew down upon the couch where Cicero lay with muffled head, and with its beak, little by little, tried to remove the garment from his face. The servants, on seeing this, rebuked themselves for waiting to be spectators of their master's murder, while wild beasts came to his help and cared for him in his undeserved misfortune, but they themselves did nothing in his defence. So partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they took him and carried him in his litter towards the sea.

XLVIII. But meantime his assassins came to the villa, Herennius a centurion, and Popillius a tribune,

ᾧ πατροκτονίας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνεῖπεν ὁ Κικέρων, ἔχοντες ὑπηρέτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θύρας κεκλεισμένας εὑρόντες ἐξέκοψαν, οὐ φαινομένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἔνδον εἰδέναι φασκόντων, 2 λέγεται νεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίοις καὶ μαθήμασιν, ἀπελεύθερον δὲ Κοΐντου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, Φιλόλογον τοὔνομα, φράσαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ φορεῖον κομιζόμενον διὰ τῶν καταφύτων καὶ συσκίων περιπάτων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλίαρχος ὀλίγους ἀναλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιέθει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίου δρόμῳ φερομένου διὰ τῶν περιπάτων ὁ Κικέρων ᾔσθετο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνταῦθα καταθέσθαι 3 τὸ φορεῖον. αὐτὸς δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τῶν γενείων ἁπτόμενος ἀτενὲς ἐνεώρα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν, αὐχμοῦ καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως καὶ συντετηκὼς ὑπὸ φροντίδων τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ἐγκαλύψασθαι τοῦ Ἑρεννίου 4 σφάζοντος αὐτόν. ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προτείνας, ἔτος ἐκεῖνο γεγονὼς ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ τέταρτον. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος, αἷς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἔγραψεν. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοὶ καλοῦνται.

XLIX. Τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων ἔτυχε μὲν ἀρχαιρεσίας τελῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεβόησεν ὡς νῦν αἱ προγραφαὶ τέλος ἔχοιεν. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ τοῦ

who had once been prosecuted for parricide and defended by Cicero; and they had helpers. After they had broken in the door, which they found closed, Cicero was not to be seen, and the inmates said they knew not where he was. Then, we are told, a youth who had been liberally educated by Cicero, and who was a freedman of Cicero's brother Quintus, Philologus by name, told the tribune that the litter was being carried through the wooded and shady walks towards the sea. The tribune, accordingly, taking a few helpers with him, ran round towards the exit, but Herennius hastened on the run through the walks, and Cicero, perceiving him, ordered the servants to set the litter down where they were. Then he himself, clasping his chin with his left hand, as was his wont, looked steadfastly at his slayers, his head all squalid and unkempt, and his face wasted with anxiety, so that most of those that stood by covered their faces while Herennius was slaying him. For he stretched his neck forth from the litter and was slain, being then in his sixty-fourth year.[1] Herennius cut off his head, by Antony's command, and his hands—the hands with which he wrote the Philippics. For Cicero himself entitled his speeches against Antony "Philippics," and to this day the documents are called Philippics.

XLIX. When Cicero's extremities were brought to Rome, it chanced that Antony was conducting an election, but when he heard of their arrival and saw them, he cried out, "Now let our proscriptions have an end." Then he ordered the head and hands to be placed over the ships' beaks on the

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[1] Cicero was murdered on the seventh of December, 43 B.C.

βήματος θεῖναι, θέαμα Ῥωμαίοις φρικτόν, οὐ τὸ
Κικέρωνος ὁρᾶν πρόσωπον οἰομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς
2 Ἀντωνίου ψυχῆς εἰκόνα. πλὴν ἕν γέ τι φρονήσας
μέτριον ἐν τούτοις Πομπωνίᾳ τῇ Κοΐντου
γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλόλογον παρέδωκεν. ἡ δὲ κυρία 886
γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄλλαις τε δειναῖς ἐχρήσατο
τιμωρίαις, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμνοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ
κατὰ μικρὸν ὀπτᾶν, εἶτ᾽ ἐσθίειν ἠνάγκασεν. οὕτω
γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν· ὁ δ᾽
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ
παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλολόγου
προδοσίας.

3 Πυνθάνομαι δὲ Καίσαρα χρόνοις πολλοῖς ὕστερον
εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν θυγατριδῶν· τὸν δὲ
βιβλίον ἔχοντα Κικέρωνος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκπλαγέντα
τῷ ἱματίῳ περικαλύπτειν· ἰδόντα δὲ
Καίσαρα λαβεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἑστῶτα μέρος πολὺ
τοῦ βιβλίου, πάλιν δ᾽ ἀποδιδόντα τῷ μειρακίῳ
φάναι· “Λόγιος ἀνήρ, ὦ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλόπατρις.”
4 ἐπεὶ μέντοι τάχιστα κατεπολέμησεν
Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύων αὐτὸς εἵλετο συνάρχοντα
τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὸν υἱόν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τάς τ᾽ εἰκόνας ἡ
βουλὴ καθεῖλεν Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἠκύρωσε
τιμὰς καὶ προσεψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων
ὄνομα Μάρκον εἶναι. οὕτω τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὸν
Κικέρωνος οἶκον ἐπανήνεγκε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀντωνίου
κολάσεως.

rostra, a sight that made the Romans shudder; for they thought they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but an image of the soul of Antony. However, he showed at least one sentiment of fair dealing in the case when he handed over Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. And she, having got the man into her power, besides other dreadful punishments which she inflicted upon him, forced him to cut off his own flesh bit by bit and roast it, and then to eat it. This, indeed, is what some of the historians say; but Cicero's own freedman, Tiro, makes no mention at all of the treachery of Philologus.

I learn that Caesar, a long time after this, paid a visit to one of his daughter's sons; and the boy, since he had in his hands a book of Cicero's, was terrified and sought to hide it in his gown; but Caesar saw it, and took the book, and read a great part of it as he stood, and then gave it back to the youth, saying: "A learned man, my child, a learned man and a lover of his country." Moreover, as soon as he had finally defeated Antony,[1] and when he was himself consul, he chose Cicero's son as his colleague in the office, and it was in his consulship that the senate took down the statues of Antony, made void the other honours that had been paid him, and decreed besides that no Antony should have the name of Marcus. Thus the heavenly powers devolved upon the family of Cicero the final steps in the punishment of Antony.

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[1] At Alexandria, in 30 B.C. (see the *Antony*, lxxxi. 1 f.).

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένους
καὶ Κικέρωνος ἱστορουμένων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν
ἀφῖκται γνῶσιν, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν. ἀφεικὼς δὲ
τὸ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕξιν αὐτῶν,
ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ μὴ παρήσειν ἄρρητον, ὅτι Δημοσθένης
μὲν εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ἐνέτεινε πᾶν ὅσον
εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως λόγιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος
ἐναργείᾳ μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν δικῶν συνεξεταζομένους, ὄγκῳ
δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς, ἀκριβείᾳ
2 δὲ καὶ τέχνῃ τοὺς σοφιστάς· Κικέρων δὲ
καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ποικίλος τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους
σπουδῇ γενόμενος συντάξεις μὲν ἰδίας φιλοσόφους
ἀπολέλοιπεν οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν
τρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς
τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας γραφομένων λόγων
δῆλός ἐστιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ γραμμάτων παρεπιδείκνυσθαι
βουλόμενος.

3 Ἔστι δέ τις καὶ τοῦ ἤθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἑκατέρου
δίοψις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθενικὸς ἔξω
παντὸς ὡραϊσμοῦ καὶ παιδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ
σπουδὴν συνηγμένος οὐκ ἐλλυχνίων ὄδωδεν, ὥσπερ
ὁ Πυθέας ἔσκωπτεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑδροποσίας καὶ
φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου
4 καὶ στυγνότητος, Κικέρων δὲ πολλαχοῦ τῷ

COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

I. These, then, are the memorable incidents in the recorded careers of Demosthenes and Cicero which have come to our knowledge. And though I have renounced the comparison of their oratorical styles,[1] yet this, I think, ought not to be left unsaid, namely, that Demosthenes devoted to the rhetorical art all the powers of speech which he possessed by nature or acquired by practice, surpassing in force and effectiveness his rivals in forensic and judicial pleading, in pomp and majesty of utterance the professional declaimers, and in precision and skill the sophists; Cicero, on the other hand, became widely learned and had a variety of interest in the pursuit of letters, and left behind him not a few philosophical treatises of his own conforming to the fashion of the Academy; indeed, even in the speeches which he wrote for the forum and the courts he clearly desires to display by the way a considerable acquaintance with letters.

It is possible, too, to get a glimpse of the character of each in his style of speaking. For that of Demosthenes, which had no prettiness or pleasantry, and was condensed with a view to power and earnestness, did not smell of lamp-wicks, as Pytheas scoffingly said,[2] but of water-drinking and anxious thought, and of what men called the bitterness and sullenness of his disposition; whereas Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting

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[1] See the *Demosthenes*, iii. 1.

[2] Cf. the *Demosthenes*, viii. 3.

σκωπτικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος καὶ
πράγματα σπουδῆς ἄξια γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ
κατειρωνευόμενος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις εἰς τὸ χρειῶδες
ἠφείδει τοῦ πρέποντος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Καιλίου[1]
συνηγορίᾳ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ
τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρώμενον· τὸ
γὰρ ὧν ἔξεστι μὴ μετέχειν, μανικὸν εἶναι, καὶ
ταῦτα ἐν ἡδονῇ τὸ εὔδαιμον τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
5 φιλοσόφων τιθεμένων. λέγεται δὲ Κάτωνος
Μουρήναν διώκοντος ὑπατεύων ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ
πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα κωμῳδεῖν τὴν Στωϊκὴν
αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτοπίαις τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων
δογμάτων· γέλωτος δὲ λαμπροῦ κατιόντος
ἐκ τῶν περιεστώτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἡσυχῇ
διαμειδιάσας ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους
εἰπεῖν· "Ὡς γελοῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔχομεν ὕπατον."
6 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γέλωτος οἰκεῖος ὁ Κικέρων γεγονέναι
καὶ φιλοσκώπτης, τό τε πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μειδίαμα
καὶ γαλήνην παρεῖχε. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένους
ἀεί τις ἐπῆν σπουδή, καὶ τὸ πεφροντικὸς τοῦτο
καὶ σύννουν οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπέλειπεν·[2] ὅθεν καὶ
δύσκολον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ δύστροπον, ὡς
αὐτός φησιν, ἀπεκάλουν.

II. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι κατιδεῖν 88
ἔστι τὸν μὲν ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς τῶν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἁπτόμενον ἐγκωμίων, ὅτε τούτου δεήσαι
πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μεῖζον, τἆλλα δ' εὐλαβῆ καὶ μέτριον·
ἡ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμετρία τῆς

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[1] Καιλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Wyttenbach: Κεκιλίου.

[2] ἀπέλειπεν with Graux and Bekker, after Coraës: ἀπέλιπεν.

into scurrility, and when, to gain his ends in his cases, he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasantry, he was careless of propriety. Thus, in his defence of Caelius, he said that his client, surrounded as he was by great luxury and extravagance, did nothing out of the way when indulging in pleasures; for not to enjoy what is in one's possession was madness, he said, particularly when the most eminent philosophers assert that true happiness consists in pleasure.[1] And we are told that when Cato prosecuted Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, defended him, and because of Cato's beliefs made much fun of the Stoic sect, in view of the absurdities of their so-called paradoxes;[2] and when loud laughter spread from the audience to the jurors, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those who sat by: "What a funny man we have, my friends, for consul!" And it would seem that Cicero was naturally prone to laughter and fond of jesting; his face, too, was smiling and peaceful. But in that of Demosthenes there was always a certain intense seriousness, and this look of thoughtfulness and anxiety he did not easily lay aside. For this reason his enemies, as he himself says,[3] called him morose and ill-mannered.

II. Still further, then, in their writings it is possible to see that the one touches upon his own praises cautiously and so as not to give offence, when there was need of this for some weightier end, while on other occasions he is careful and moderate; whereas Cicero's immoderate boasting of

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[1] Cf. Cicero, *pro Caelio*, 12, 28; but Plutarch's interpretation does Cicero great injustice. Cf. 17, 39 f.

[2] Cf. *pro Murena*, 29–31.

[3] In *Phil.* ii. 30.

περιαυτολογίας ἀκρασίαν τινὰ κατηγόρει πρὸς
δόξαν, βοῶντος ὡς τὰ ὅπλα ἔδει τῇ τηβέννῳ καὶ
2 τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπείκειν δάφνην. τελευτῶν
δ' οὐ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑφ'
αὑτοῦ[1] καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτει καὶ
Ἀναξιμένει τοῖς σοφισταῖς διαμειρακιευόμενος,
οὐ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄγειν ἀξιῶν καὶ ὀρθοῦν,

βριθύν, ὁπλιτοπάλαν, δάϊον ἀντιπάλοις.

3 ἰσχύειν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀγαπᾶν δ' ἀγεννὲς καὶ λιχνεύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν. ὅθεν ἐμβριθέστερος ταύτῃ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος[2] ὁ Δημοσθένης, τὴν μὲν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ πολλῆς δεομένην τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀκροωμένων εὐνοίας ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀνελευθέρους δὲ καὶ βαναύσους, ὥσπερ εἰσί, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φυσωμένους ἡγούμενος.

III. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δύναμις ὁμαλῶς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὅπλων καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίους δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείθην καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπήϊον καὶ Καίσαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.

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[1] ὑφ' αὑτοῦ Graux with M^a: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

[2] μεγαλοπρεπέστερος with Bekker, after Stephanus: μεγαλοπρεπέστατος.

himself in his speeches proves that he had an intemperate desire for fame, his cry being that arms must give place to the toga and the laurel of triumph to the tongue.[1] And at last he praises not only his deeds and actions, but also his speeches, both those which he delivered himself and those which he committed to writing, as if he were impetuously vying with Isocrates and Anaximenes the sophists, instead of claiming the right to lead and instruct the Roman people,

> "Steadfast, in heavy armour clad, destructive to
> foes."[2]

It is necessary, indeed, that a political leader should prevail by reason of his eloquence, but ignoble for him to admire and crave the fame that springs from his eloquence. Wherefore in this regard Demosthenes is more stately and magnificent, since he declares that his ability in speaking was a mere matter of experience, depending greatly upon the goodwill of his hearers,[3] and considers illiberal and vulgar, as they are, those who are puffed up at such success.

III. It is true that in haranguing and guiding the people both had equal power, so that even those who controlled armies and camps had need of their services; Chares, Diopeithes, and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes, and Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself says in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

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[1] Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi (*in Pisonem*, 29, 72 ff.).

[2] The second verse of an elegiac distich attributed to Aeschylus in *Morals*, p. 334 d. Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.[4] p. 242.

[3] Cf. *On the Crown*, 277.

2 ὃ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ λέγεται τρόπον ἀνδρὸς
ἐπιδεικνύναι καὶ βασανίζειν, ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ
πᾶν πάθος κινοῦσα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκαλύπτουσα
κακίαν, Δημοσθένει μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, οὐδ' ἔδωκε
τοιαύτην διάπειραν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν ἄρξας, ὃς οὐδὲ τῆς ὑφ' αὑτοῦ συντεταγμένης
ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ἐστρατήγησε δυνάμεως·
3 Κικέρων δὲ ταμίας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀνθύπατος
εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀποσταλείς, ἐν
ᾧ καιρῷ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀκμαζούσης, καὶ τῶν
πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, ὡς τοῦ
κλέπτειν ἀγεννοῦς ὄντος, ἐπὶ τὸ ἁρπάζειν τρεπομένων,
οὐ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐδόκει δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὁ
μετρίως τοῦτο ποιῶν ἠγαπᾶτο, πολλὴν μὲν ἐπίδειξιν
ὑπεροψίας χρημάτων ἐποιήσατο, πολλὴν
4 δὲ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ
τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος, ἐξουσίαν
δὲ λαβὼν αὐτοκράτορος καὶ δικτάτορος ἐπὶ τοὺς
περὶ Κατιλίναν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἅμα τῷ Πλάτωνι
μαντευομένῳ παῦλαν ἕξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις,
ὅταν εἰς ταὐτὸ δύναμίς τε μεγάλη καὶ φρόνησις ἔκ
τινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης.
5 Χρηματίσασθαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης
μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα
τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκοις,
καὶ διαβληθεὶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν,
ὀφλὼν δὲ τῶν Ἁρπαλείων. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς
γράφοντας (οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι) ψεύδεσθαι

But what is thought and said most of all to reveal and test the character of a man, namely power and authority, which rouses every passion and uncovers every baseness, this Demosthenes did not have, nor did he give any such proof of himself, since he held no conspicuous office, nor did he even command the force which was raised by him against Philip; whereas Cicero was sent out as quaestor to Sicily, and as pro-consul to Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when the love of wealth was at its greatest height, and when those who were sent out as praetors and governors, feeling that theft was an ignoble thing, resorted to open plundering, so that the taking of property was not thought heinous, but he who did this in moderation was held in high esteem; and yet Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth, and many of his humanity and goodness. And when in Rome itself he was appointed consul in name, but really received the power of a dictator and sole ruler against Catiline and his conspirators, he bore witness to the truth of Plato's prophecy[1] that states would then have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice.

Moreover, it is said to the reproach of Demosthenes that he made money by his eloquence, since he secretly wrote speeches for Phormio and Apollodorus, who were adversaries in the same case, and since he was accused in the matter of the Great King's money, and condemned for taking that of Harpalus. And if we should say that those who write these things (and these writers are not few)

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[1] *Republic*, p. 473 d.

6 φαίημεν, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν
χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθένης
οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ᾿ ἦν τοῦτο ἔργον[1] ἀνθρώπου
δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμήχανον
ἀντειπεῖν· περὶ δὲ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι καὶ Σικελιωτῶν
ἀγορανομοῦντι καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν
ἀνθυπατεύοντι καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, ὅτ᾿ ἐξέπιπτε
τῆς πόλεως, δωρουμένων πολλὰ καὶ δεομένων
λαβεῖν ἀντέσχεν, εἴρηται.

IV. Καὶ μὴν ἥ γε φυγὴ τῷ μὲν αἰσχρὰ κλοπῆς
ἁλόντι συνέπεσε, τῷ δὲ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀνθρώπους
ἀλιτηρίους ἐκκόψαντι τῆς πατρίδος. διὸ 888
τοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐκπίπτοντος, ἐφ᾿ ᾧ δ᾿ ἡ
σύγκλητος ἐσθῆτά τε διήλλαξε καὶ πένθος ἔσχε
καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἐπείσθη πρότερον
2 ἢ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι. τὴν
μέντοι φυγὴν ἀργῶς ὁ Κικέρων διήνεγκεν ἐν
Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενος, τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἡ
φυγὴ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. συναγωνιζόμενος
γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ
τοὺς Μακεδόνων πρέσβεις ἐξελαύνων ἐπήρχετο
τὰς πόλεις, πολὺ βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τύχας φανεὶς πολίτης·
καὶ μέντοι κατελθὼν αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν, καὶ διετέλει πολεμῶν
3 πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας. Κικέρωνα
δ᾿ ὠνείδισεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λαίλιος αἰτουμένου

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[1] τοῦτο ἔργον Bekker and Graux, after Reiske: τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον.

tell what is untrue, still, at least, that Demosthenes could not bring himself to look with indifference upon gifts which kings offered as marks of honour and favour, and that this was not to be expected of a man who lent money on bottomry, it is impossible to deny; whereas, in the case of Cicero, that the Sicilians when he was quaestor, and the king of Cappadocia when he was pro-consul, and his friends in Rome when he was going into exile, offered him large sums and begged him to take them, only to meet with his refusal, has been said.

IV. And surely in the matter of banishment, at least, for the one it was disgraceful, since he had been convicted of theft; but for the other it was a most honourable result, since he had rid his country of baleful men. Therefore no account was made of the one when he went into exile; but for the other the senate changed its garb and put on mourning and could not be induced to discuss any business until Cicero's return had been decreed. However, Cicero spent his exile idly, remaining quietly in Macedonia; but the exile of Demosthenes proved to be a great part of his service to the state. For he took part in the struggles of the Greeks, as has been said, and drove out the Macedonian envoys in the various cities which he visited, and so showed himself to be a far better citizen than Themistocles or Alcibiades when they were having the same fortune; and furthermore, when he returned from exile, he again devoted himself to this same public service, and steadfastly continued waging war upon Antipater and the Macedonians. Cicero, on the contrary, was reproached in the senate by Laelius for sitting silent

Καίσαρος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι παρὰ νόμον, οὔπω γενειῶντος, σιωπῇ καθήμενον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐγκαλῶν ὡς μείζονα καὶ βαρυτέραν πεπαιδοτριβηκότι τυραννίδα τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ καταλυθείσης.

V. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τις ἄν, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην δι' ἀγέννειαν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενον καὶ περιφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενον τοὺς οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἥκοντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἶτ' ἀποσφαγέντα· τοῦ δ', εἰ καὶ μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐνέδωκεν, ἀγαστὴ μὲν ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τήρησις, ἀγαστὴ δ' ἡ χρῆσις, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσυλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μείζονα βωμὸν καταφυγών, ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ᾤχετο, τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου καταγελάσας ὠμότητος.

when Caesar asked leave to stand for the consulship, which was contrary to law, since he was still a beardless youth. And Brutus also, in one of his letters, accused him of having reared up a tyranny greater and more severe than that which the writer himself had overthrown.[1]

V. And after all, the one is to be pitied for the manner of his death—an old man ignobly carried up and down by servants, trying to escape death, hiding himself from those who were coming after him not much in advance of nature's final summons, and then beheaded; whereas in that of the other, even though it had a slight touch of supplication, we must admire the preparation of the poison and its place of custody, must admire, too, the use he made of it, because, since the god would not afford him asylum, he took refuge at a greater altar, as it were, made his escape from arms and mercenaries, and laughed to scorn the cruelty of Antipater.

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[1] Cicero, *ad Brutum*, i. 17, 2 (Brutus to Atticus).

ALEXANDER

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Ι. Τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ
τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ᾽ οὗ κατελύθη Πομπήϊος, ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ γράφοντες, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὐδὲν ἄλλο προεροῦμεν
ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ
πάντα μηδὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐξειργασμένως τι τῶν
περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες
2 τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας
γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις
πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας,
ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ 665
παιδιά τις ἔμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ
μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται
3 καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι
τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ
τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν,
ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες,
οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς
σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν
τὸν ἑκάστου βίον, ἐάσαντας ἑτέροις τὰ
μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

ΙΙ. Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστί. λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμο-

ALEXANDER

I. It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

II. As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted without any question. And we are told that Philip, after

θρᾴκῃ τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμυηθεὶς αὐτός τε μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι κἀκείνης παιδὸς ὀρφανῆς γονέων ἐρασθῆναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἁρμόσαι, πείσας
2 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύμβαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη, πρὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν, εἶτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὄναρ αὑτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγῖδα τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφρα-
3 γῖδος, ὡς ᾤετο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορωμένων τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ
4 λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν. ὤφθη δέ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρῶσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαυσόμενον, εἴτε δείσαντά τινας μαγείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικός, εἴτε τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὡς κρείττονι συνούσης ἀφοσιούμενον.

5 Ἕτερος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ τῇδε γυναῖκες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὖσαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες

being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time with Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas. Well, then, the night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was extinguished. At a later time, too, after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal upon his wife's womb; and the device of the seal, as he thought, was the figure of a lion. The other seers, now, were led by the vision to suspect that Philip needed to put a closer watch upon his marriage relations; but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was pregnant, since no seal was put upon what was empty, and pregnant of a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. Moreover, a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, and we are told that this, more than anything else, dulled the ardour of Philip's attentions to his wife, so that he no longer came often to sleep by her side, either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practised upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being.

But concerning these matters there is another story to this effect: all the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being called Klodones and Mimallones[1]), and imitated in many

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[1] Macedonian names for Bacchantes.

ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἠδωνίσι καὶ
ταῖς περὶ τὸν Αἶμον Θρῄσσαις ὅμοια δρῶσιν, ἀφ'
ὧν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν ὄνομα ταῖς κατακόροις
6 γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργοις ἱερουργίαις, ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς
μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς
καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον
ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς
θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν
μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδυόμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι
τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις
ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἄνδρας.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ μέν, μετὰ τὸ
φάσμα πέμψαντι Χαίρωνα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην
εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμὸν κομισθῆναι λέγουσι παρὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντος Ἄμμωνι θύειν καὶ σέβεσθαι
μάλιστα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν· ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν
ὄψεων αὐτὸν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἣν τῷ τῆς θύρας ἁρμῷ
προσβαλὼν κατώπτευσεν ἐν μορφῇ δράκοντος
2 συνευναζόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν θεόν. ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς,
ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, προπέμπουσα τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ φράσασα
μόνῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευεν
ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. ἕτεροι δέ φασιν
αὐτὴν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι καὶ λέγειν· "Οὐ παύσεταί
με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν;"

3 Ἐγεννήθη δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἱσταμένου μηνὸς
Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῷον καλοῦσιν,

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[1] Plutarch apparently derives this verb from Θρῇσσαι (*Thracian women*).

[2] Sacred to Dionysus, and carried on the heads of the celebrants.

ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word "threskeuein"[1] came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. Now Olympias, who affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the revelling companies with great tame serpents, which would often lift their heads from out the ivy and the mystic winnowing-baskets,[2] or coil themselves about the wands and garlands of the women, thus terrifying the men.

III However, after his vision, as we are told, Philip sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi, by whom an oracle was brought him from Apollo, who bade him sacrifice to Ammon and hold that god in greatest reverence, but told him he was to lose that one of his eyes which he had applied to the chink in the door when he espied the god, in the form of a serpent, sharing the couch of his wife. Moreover, Olympias, as Eratosthenes says, when she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth. Others, on the contrary, say that she repudiated the idea, and said: "Alexander must cease slandering me to Hera."[3]

Be that as it may, Alexander was born early in the month Hecatombaeon,[4] the Macedonian name for

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[3] The lawful spouse of Zeus Ammon.

[4] 356 B.C. The day of birth has probably been moved back two or three months for the sake of the coincidence mentioned below (§ 5). Hecatombaeon corresponds nearly to July.

ἕκτῃ, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος
ἐνεπρήσθη νεώς· ᾧ γ' Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκεν
ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι τὴν πυρκαϊὰν
ἐκείνην ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμενον· εἰκότως γὰρ
ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν.
4 ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβοντες 666
ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τὸν νεὼν πάθος ἡγούμενοι πάθους
ἑτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διέθεον τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι
καὶ βοῶντες ἄτην ἅμα καὶ συμφορὰν
μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκέναι.
Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἄρτι Ποτίδαιαν ᾑρηκότι τρεῖς ἧκον
5 ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον· ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὺς
ἡττᾶσθαι μάχῃ μεγάλῃ διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δὲ
Ὀλυμπίασιν ἵππῳ κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ
περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐφ' οἷς ἡδόμενον,
ὡς εἰκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάντεις ἐπῆραν ἀποφαινόμενοι
τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγεννημένον
ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

IV. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι
μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὑφ'
οὗ μόνου καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ
μάλισθ' ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν
φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τήν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος
εἰς εὐώνυμον ἡσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα
τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.
2 Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ
ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον
ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν· ἡ δὲ

which is Loüs, on the sixth day of the month, and on this day the temple of Ephesian Artemis was burnt. It was apropos of this that Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished that great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looking upon the temple's disaster as a sign of further disaster, ran about beating their faces and crying aloud that woe and great calamity for Asia had that day been born. To Philip, however, who had just taken Potidaea, there came three messages at the same time: the first that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory at the Olympic games, while a third announced the birth of Alexander. These things delighted him, of course, and the seers raised his spirits still higher by declaring that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would be always victorious.

IV. The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his

λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος
μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς
ἥδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία
καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὥστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς
χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστοξενείοις.
3 Αἰτία δὲ ἴσως ἡ τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσις πολύθερμος
οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἡ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται
πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἴεται
Θεόφραστος. ὅθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διάπυροι τόποι
τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν
ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν· ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν
ὥσπερ ὕλην σηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν.
4 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς
ἔοικε, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.

Ἔτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἥ τε σωφροσύνη
διεφαίνετο τῷ πρὸς τἆλλα ῥαγδαῖον ὄντα καὶ
φερόμενον σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸ
σῶμα δυσκίνητον εἶναι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πρᾳότητος
5 ἅπτεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, ἥ τε φιλοτιμία παρ᾿
ἡλικίαν ἐμβριθὲς εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον.
οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὔτε πᾶσαν ἠγάπα
δόξαν, ὡς Φίλιππος λόγου τε δεινότητι σοφιστικῶς
καλλωπιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
νίκας τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐγχαράττων τοῖς νομίσμασιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποπειρωμένων εἰ
βούλοιτ᾿ ἂν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι στάδιον,
ἦν γὰρ ποδώκης, “Εἴ γε,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῖς
6 ἔμελλον ἕξειν ἀνταγωνιστάς.” φαίνεται δὲ καὶ
καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἀλλοτρίως
ἔχων· πλείστους γέ τοι θεὶς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον

fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particularly, and in his face. Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenus.

Now, the cause of this, perhaps, was the temperament of his body, which was a very warm and fiery one; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastus thinks, where moist humours are acted upon by heat. Wherefore the dry and parched regions of the world produce the most and best spices; for the sun draws away the moisture which, like material of corruption, abounds in vegetable bodies. And in Alexander's case, it was the heat of his body, as it would seem, which made him prone to drink, and choleric.

But while he was still a boy his self-restraint showed itself in the fact that, although he was impetuous and violent in other matters, the pleasures of the body had little hold upon him, and he indulged in them with great moderation, while his ambition kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years. For it was neither every kind of fame nor fame from every source that he courted, as Philip did, who plumed himself like a sophist on the power of his oratory, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at Olympia engraved upon his coins; nay, when those about him inquired whether he would be willing to contend in the foot-race at the Olympic games, since he was swift of foot, "Yes," said he, "if I could have kings as my contestants." And in general, too, Alexander appears to have been averse to the whole race of athletes; at any rate, though he instituted very many contests, not only

τραγῳδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν, θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ῥαβδομαχίας, οὔτε πυγμῆς οὔτε παγκρατίου μετά τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἆθλον.

V. Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἥκοντας ἀποδημοῦντος Φιλίππου ξενίζων καὶ γενόμενος συνήθης οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἐρώτημα παιδικὸν ἐρωτῆσαι μηδὲ μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὁδῶν τε μήκη καὶ πορείας τῆς ἄνω τρόπον ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁποῖος εἴη πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ τίς ἡ Περσῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὁρμὴν
2 καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. ὁσάκις γοῦν ἀπαγγελθείη Φίλιππος ἢ πόλιν ἔνδοξον ᾑρηκὼς ἢ μάχην τινὰ περιβόητον νενικηκώς, οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸς ἦν ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἔλεγεν· "Ὦ παῖδες, πάντα προλήψεται ὁ πατήρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι μέγα
3 καὶ λαμπρόν." οὐ γὰρ ἡδονὴν ζηλῶν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσῳ πλείονα λήψεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλάττονα κατορθώσειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ. διὸ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐξομένοις καταναλίσκεσθαι τὰς πράξεις εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡγούμενος, ἐβούλετο μὴ χρήματα μηδὲ τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. 667

4 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς εἰκός,

for tragic poets and players on the flute and players on the lyre, but also for rhapsodists, as well as for hunting of every sort and for fighting with staves, he took no interest in offering prizes either for boxing or for the pancratium.

V. He once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip's absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by enquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son's eager disposition to do great things. At all events, as often as tidings were brought that Philip had either taken a famous city or been victorious in some celebrated battle, Alexander was not very glad to hear them, but would say to his comrades: "Boys, my father will anticipate everything; and for me he will leave no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world with your aid." For since he did not covet pleasure, nor even wealth, but excellence and fame, he considered that the more he should receive from his father the fewer would be the successes won by himself. Therefore, considering that increase in prosperity meant the squandering upon his father of opportunities for achievement, he preferred to receive from him a realm which afforded, not wealth nor luxury and enjoyment, but struggles and wars and ambitions.

In the work of caring for him, then, many persons,

ἦσαν αὐτοῦ τροφεῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι
λεγόμενοι, πᾶσι δ' ἐφειστήκει Λεωνίδας, ἀνὴρ
τό τε ἦθος αὐστηρὸς καὶ συγγενὴς Ὀλυμπιάδος,
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φεύγων τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα
καλὸν ἔργον ἐχούσης καὶ λαμπρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τροφεὺς
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ καθηγητὴς καλούμενος. ὁ δὲ
τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν
ὑποποιούμενος ἦν Λυσίμαχος, τῷ γένει Ἀκαρνάν,
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀστεῖον, ὅτι δ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν
ὠνόμαζε Φοίνικα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀχιλλέα,
Πηλέα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ δευτέραν
εἶχε χώραν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλονείκου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τὸν
Βουκεφάλαν ἀγαγόντος ὤνιον τῷ Φιλίππῳ τρισκαίδεκα
ταλάντων κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δοκιμάσοντες
τὸν ἵππον, ἐδόκει τε χαλεπὸς εἶναι καὶ
κομιδῇ δύσχρηστος, οὔτε ἀναβάτην προσιέμενος
οὔτε φωνὴν ὑπομένων τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον,
ἀλλ' ἁπάντων κατεξανιστάμενος, δυσχεραί-
2 νοντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν
ὡς παντάπασιν ἄγριον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, παρὼν
Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν "Οἷον ἵππον ἀπολλύουσι δι'
ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι,"
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Φίλιππος ἐσιώπησε· πολλάκις
δὲ αὐτοῦ παραφθεγγομένου καὶ περιπαθοῦντος,
"Ἐπιτιμᾷς σύ," ἔφη, "πρεσβυτέροις ὥς τι
πλέον αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἢ μᾶλλον ἵππῳ χρήσασθαι

as was natural, were appointed to be his nurturers, tutors, and teachers, but over them all stood Leonidas, a man of stern temperament and a kinsman of Olympias. Although he did not himself shun the title of tutor, since the office afforded an honourable and brilliant occupation, yet by other people, owing to his dignity and his relationship, he was called Alexander's foster-father and preceptor. The man, however, who assumed the character and the title of tutor was Lysimachus, a native of Acarnania, who had no general refinement, but because he called himself Phoenix,[1] Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was highly regarded and held a second place.

VI. Once upon a time Philoneicus the Thessalian brought Bucephalas, offering to sell him to Philip for thirteen talents,[2] and they went down into the plain to try the horse, who appeared to be savage and altogether intractable, neither allowing any one to mount him, nor heeding the voice of any of Philip's attendants, but rearing up against all of them. Then Philip was vexed and ordered the horse to be led away, believing him to be altogether wild and unbroken; but Alexander, who was near by, said: "What a horse they are losing, because, for lack of skill and courage, they cannot manage him!" At first, then, Philip held his peace; but as Alexander many times let fall such words and showed great distress, he said: "Dost thou find fault with thine elders in the belief that thou knowest more than they do or art better able to manage a horse?"

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[1] The preceptor of Achilles.

[2] The talent was worth about £235, or $1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

3 δυνάμενος;" "Τούτῳ γοῦν," ἔφη, "χρησαίμην ἂν
ἑτέρου βέλτιον." "Ἂν δὲ μὴ χρήσῃ, τίνα δίκην
τῆς προπετείας ὑφέξεις;" "Ἐγώ, νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν,
"ἀποτίσω τοῦ ἵππου τὴν τιμήν." γενομένου δὲ
γέλωτος, εἶτα ὁρισμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ
ἀργύριον, εὐθὺς προσδραμὼν τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ παραλαβὼν
τὴν ἡνίαν ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὴν σκιὰν προπίπτουσαν
καὶ σαλευομένην ὁρῶν πρὸ αὑτοῦ διαταράττοιτο.
4 μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω παρακαλπάσας καὶ καταψήσας,
ὡς ἑώρα πληρούμενον θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματος, ἀπορρίψας
ἡσυχῇ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ μετεωρίσας αὑτὸν
ἀσφαλῶς περιέβη. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν περιλαβὼν ταῖς
ἡνίαις τὸν χαλινὸν ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ σπαραγμοῦ
προσανέστειλεν·[1] ὡς δὲ ἑώρα τὸν ἵππον ἀφεικότα
τὴν ἀπειλήν, ὀργῶντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, ἐφεὶς
ἐδίωκεν ἤδη φωνῇ θρασυτέρᾳ καὶ ποδὸς κρούσει
5 χρώμενος. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἦν ἀγωνία
καὶ σιγὴ τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ κάμψας ἐπέστρεψεν
ὀρθῶς σοβαρὸς καὶ γεγηθώς, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες
ἠλάλαξαν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ δακρῦσαί τι λέγεται
πρὸς τὴν χαράν, καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν
φιλήσας, "Ὦ παῖ," φάναι, "ζήτει σεαυτῷ
βασιλείαν ἴσην· Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ."

VII. Καθορῶν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δυσκίνητον μὲν οὖσαν ἐρίσαντος μὴ βιασθῆναι, ῥᾳδίως δὲ ἀγομένην ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τὸ δέον, αὐτός τε πεί-

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[1] προσανέστειλεν Bekker has προσέστειλεν, with inferior MSS.

"This horse, at any rate," said Alexander, "I could manage better than others have." "And if thou shouldst not, what penalty wilt thou undergo for thy rashness?" "Indeed," said Alexander, "I will forfeit the price of the horse." There was laughter at this, and then an agreement between father and son as to the forfeiture, and at once Alexander ran to the horse, took hold of his bridle-rein, and turned him towards the sun; for he had noticed, as it would seem, that the horse was greatly disturbed by the sight of his own shadow falling in front of him and dancing about. And after he had calmed the horse a little in this way, and had stroked him with his hand, when he saw that he was full of spirit and courage, he quietly cast aside his mantle and with a light spring safely bestrode him. Then, with a little pressure of the reins on the bit, and without striking him or tearing his mouth, he held him in hand;[1] but when he saw that the horse was rid of the fear that had beset him, and was impatient for the course, he gave him his head, and at last urged him on with sterner tone and thrust of foot. Philip and his company were speechless with anxiety at first; but when Alexander made the turn in proper fashion and came back towards them proud and exultant, all the rest broke into loud cries, but his father, as we are told, actually shed tears of joy, and when Alexander had dismounted, kissed him, saying: "My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee."

VII. And since Philip saw that his son's nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty,

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[1] Amyot, "le remeit gentiment."

θειν ἐπειρᾶτο μᾶλλον ἢ προστάττειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια παιδευταῖς οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάρτισιν, ὡς μείζονος οὖσαν πραγματείας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἅμα,

2 *μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον* 668
καὶ λογιώτατον Ἀριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα διδασκάλια τελέσας αὐτῷ. τὴν γὰρ Σταγειριτῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀνάστατον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην συνῴκισε πάλιν, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἢ δουλεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέστησε.

3 *Σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ* Μίεζαν *νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν* Ἀριστοτέλους *ἕδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν. ἔοικε δὲ* Ἀλέξανδρος *οὐ μόνον τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς*
4 *πολλούς, μετασχεῖν. ἤδη γὰρ εἰς* Ἀσίαν *διαβεβηκώς, καὶ πυθόμενος λόγους τινὰς ἐν βιβλίοις περὶ τούτων ὑπὸ* Ἀριστοτέλους *ἐκδεδόσθαι, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας παρρησιαζόμενος ἐπιστολήν, ἧς ἀντίγραφόν ἐστιν· "*Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει *εὖ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροαματικοὺς τῶν λόγων· τίνι γὰρ*

he himself tried to persuade rather than to command him; and because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to the ordinary teachers of poetry and the formal studies, feeling that it was a matter of too great importance, and, in the words of Sophocles,[1]

> "A task for many bits and rudder-sweeps as well,"

he sent for the most famous and learned of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee. The city of Stageira, that is, of which Aristotle was a native, and which he had himself destroyed, he peopled again, and restored to it those of its citizens who were in exile or slavery.

Well, then, as a place where master and pupil could labour and study, he assigned them the precinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where to this day the visitor is shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. It would appear, moreover, that Alexander not only received from his master his ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those secret and more profound teachings which philosophers designate by the special terms "acroamatic" and "epoptic,"[2] and do not impart to many. For after he had already crossed into Asia, and when he learned that certain treatises on these recondite matters had been published in books by Aristotle, he wrote him a letter on behalf of philosophy, and put it in plain language. And this is a copy of the letter. "Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroamatic

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[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*^{2} p. 315.

[2] *i.e.*, fit for oral teaching only, and for the initiated; "esoteric," as opposed to "exoteric" doctrines.

δὴ διοίσομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ' οὓς ἐπαιδεύθημεν
λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί;
ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις
5 ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο." ταύτην
μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ παραμυθούμενος
Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων
ἐκείνων, ὡς καὶ ἐκδεδομένων καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένων·
ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἡ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεία πρὸς
διδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα χρήσιμον
ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γέγραπται.

VIII. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
προστρίψασθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης·
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ συνέταττε θεραπείας
τινὰς καὶ διαίτας, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
λαβεῖν ἔστιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλολόγος καὶ
2 φιλαναγνώστης. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολεμικῆς
ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων,
ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἣν ἐκ τοῦ
νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν, εἶχε δὲ ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου
κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος
ἱστόρηκε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὐπορῶν
ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις Ἅρπαλον ἐκέλευσε
3 πέμψαι. κἀκεῖνος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τάς τε Φιλίστου
βίβλους καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους
καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συχνάς, καὶ Τελέστου
καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους. Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ
θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἧττον, ὡς
αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, τοῦ πατρός, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν,
διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, ὕστερον ὑποπτότερον

doctrines; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein I have been trained are to be all men's common property? But I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. Farewell." Accordingly, in defending himself, Aristotle encourages this ambition of Alexander by saying that the doctrines of which he spoke were both published and not published; for in truth his treatise on metaphysics is of no use for those who would either teach or learn the science, but is written as a memorandum for those already trained therein.

VIII. Moreover, in my opinion Alexander's love of the art of healing was inculcated in him by Aristotle preeminently. For he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but actually came to the aid of his friends when they were sick, and prescribed for them certain treatments and regimens, as one can gather from his letters. He was also by nature a lover of learning and a lover of reading. And since he thought and called the Iliad a viaticum of the military art, he took with him Aristotle's recension of the poem, called the Iliad of the Casket,[1] and always kept it lying with his dagger under his pillow, as Onesicritus informs us; and when he could find no other books in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. So Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestes and Philoxenus. Aristotle he admired at the first, and loved him, as he himself used to say, more than he did his father, for that the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life; later, however,

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[1] Cf. chapter xxvi. 1.

ἔσχεν, οὐχ ὥστε ποιῆσαί τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἱ φιλοφροσύναι
τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ
ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος ἐγένοντο τεκμήριον.
4 ὁ μέντοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὼς
καὶ συντεθραμμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ζῆλος καὶ
πόθος οὐκ ἐξερρύη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἡ περὶ Ἀνάξαρχόν
τε τιμὴ καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα Ξενοκράτει
πεντήκοντα τάλαντα καὶ Δάνδαμις καὶ Καλανὸς
οὕτω σπουδασθέντες μαρτυροῦσι.

IX. Φιλίππου δὲ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους,
ἦν μὲν ἑκκαιδεκέτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ
κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς
σφραγῖδος, Μαίδων τε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας κατεστρέψατο,
καὶ πόλιν ἑλὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους
ἐξήλασε, συμμίκτους δὲ κατοικίσας Ἀλεξανδρόπολιν
2 προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνείᾳ
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης παρὼν μετέσχε,
καὶ λέγεται πρῶτος ἐνσεῖσαι τῷ ἱερῷ λόχῳ τῶν
Θηβαίων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ 66
παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη δρῦς,
πρὸς ἣν τότε κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον
οὐ πόρρω τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐστίν.

3 Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς εἰκός, Φίλιππος ὑπερηγάπα
τὸν υἱόν, ὥστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων
Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φίλιππον δὲ στρατηγὸν
καλούντων. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταραχαί,
διὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας αὐτοῦ τρόπον
τινὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι συννοσούσης,

he held him in more or less of suspicion, not to the extent of doing him any harm, but his kindly attentions lacked their former ardour and affection towards him, and this was proof of estrangement. However, that eager yearning for philosophy which was imbedded in his nature and which ever grew with his growth, did not subside from his soul, as is testified by the honour in which he held Anaxarchus, by his gift of fifty talents to Xenocrates, and by the attentions which he so lavishly bestowed upon Dandamis and Calanus.[1]

IX. While Philip was making an expedition against Byzantium,[2] Alexander, though only sixteen years of age, was left behind as regent in Macedonia and keeper of the royal seal, and during this time he subdued the rebellious Maedi, and after taking their city, drove out the Barbarians, settled there a mixed population, and named the city Alexandropolis. He was also present at Chaeroneia and took part in the battle against the Greeks,[3] and he is said to have been the first to break the ranks of the Sacred Band of the Thebans. And even down to our day there was shown an ancient oak by the Cephisus, called Alexander's oak, near which at that time he pitched his tent; and the general sepulchre of the Macedonians is not far away.

In consequence of these exploits, then, as was natural, Philip was excessively fond of his son, so that he even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, but Philip their general. However, the disorders in his household, due to the fact that his marriages and amours carried into the kingdom the infection, as it were, which reigned in the

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[1] See chapter lxv. [2] In 340 B.C. [3] In 338 B.C.

πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλας διαφορὰς παρεῖχον, ἃς ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γυναικός, ἔτι μείζονας ἐποίει, παροξυνούσης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. 4 ἐκφανεστάτην δὲ Ἄτταλος παρέσχεν ἐν τοῖς Κλεοπάτρας γάμοις, ἣν ὁ Φίλιππος ἠγάγετο παρθένον, ἐρασθεὶς παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆς κόρης. θεῖος γὰρ ὢν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἄτταλος ἐν τῷ πότῳ μεθύων παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ θεῶν γνήσιον ἐκ Φιλίππου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἰπών, "Ἡμεῖς δέ σοι, κακὴ κεφαλή, νόθοι δοκοῦμεν;" 5 ἔβαλε σκύφον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐξανέστη σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, εὐτυχίᾳ δὲ ἑκατέρου διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔπεσε σφαλείς. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφυβρίζων, "Οὗτος μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρες, εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξ Εὐρώπης παρεσκευάζετο διαβαίνειν, ὃς ἐπὶ κλίνην ἀπὸ κλίνης διαβαίνων ἀνατέτραπται." μετὰ ταύτην τὴν παροινίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ καταστήσας εἰς Ἤπειρον αὐτὸς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διέτριβεν.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ξένος ὢν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ παρρησίας μετέχων, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Φίλιππον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου πῶς ἔχουσιν ὁμονοίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἕλληνες, "Πάνυ γοῦν," ἔφη, "σοι προσήκει, Φίλιππε, κήδεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὃς τὸν οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ

women's apartments, produced many grounds of offence and great quarrels between father and son, and these the bad temper of Olympias, who was a jealous and sullen woman, made still greater, since she spurred Alexander on. The most open quarrel was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, a maiden whom Philip was taking to wife, having fallen in love with the girl when he was past the age for it.[1] Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now, men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch." After this drunken broil Alexander took Olympias and established her in Epirus, while he himself tarried in Illyria.

Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was a guest-friend of the house and a man of frank speech, came to see Philip. After the first greetings and welcomes were over, Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with one another, and Demaratus replied: "It is surely very fitting, Philip, that thou shouldst be concerned about Greece, when thou hast filled thine own house with such great

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[1] Amyot, "hors d'age et de saison." In consequence of this passion Philip had divorced Olympias.

στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας." οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε καὶ κατήγαγε πείσας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

X. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πιξώδαρος, ὁ Καρίας σατράπης,
ὑποδυόμενος δι' οἰκειότητος εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου
συμμαχίαν, ἐβούλετο τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θυ-
γατέρων Ἀρριδαίῳ τῷ Φιλίππου γυναῖκα δοῦναι
καὶ περὶ τούτων Ἀριστόκριτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν
ἀπέστειλεν, αὖθις ἐγίνοντο λόγοι καὶ διαβολαὶ
παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ὡς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Φιλίππου
γάμοις λαμπροῖς καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις εἰσοι-
2 κειοῦντος. ὑφ' ὧν διαταραχθεὶς πέμπει Θεσσα-
λὸν εἰς Καρίαν, τὸν τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτήν,
Πιξωδάρῳ διαλεξόμενον ὡς χρὴ τὸν νόθον ἐάσαν-
τα, καὶ οὐ φρενήρη, μεθαρμόσασθαι τὸ κῆδος εἰς
Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Πιξωδάρῳ μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν
ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον ὁ δὲ Φίλιπ-
πος αἰσθόμενος, ἰὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δωμά-
τιον,[1] παραλαβὼν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων
3 ἕνα, Φιλώταν τὸν Παρμενίωνος, ἐπετίμησεν ἰσχυ-
ρῶς, καὶ πικρῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν ὡς ἀγεννῆ καὶ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν ἀνάξιον, εἰ Καρὸς
ἀνθρώπου καὶ βαρβάρῳ βασιλεῖ δουλεύοντος
ἀγαπᾷ γαμβρὸς γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλὸν
ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις ὅπως ἀναπέμψωσιν ἐν πέδαις
δεδεμένον. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑταίρων Ἅρπαλον καὶ

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[1] *ἰὼν . . . δωμάτιον* an anonymous correction of the MSS. *ὄντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον*, after Amyot; Sintenis and Bekker adopt *ἰόντα*, the correction of Stephanus (*learning that Alexander was coming*).

dissension and calamities." Thus brought to his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home, having persuaded him to come through the agency of Demaratus.

X. But when Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, trying by means of a tie of relationship to steal into a military alliance with Philip, wished to give his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidaeus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus to Macedonia on this errand, once more slanderous stories kept coming to Alexander from his friends and his mother, who said that Philip, by means of a brilliant marriage and a great connexion, was trying to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus. Greatly disturbed by these stories, Alexander sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria, to argue with Pixodarus that he ought to ignore the bastard brother, who was also a fool, and make Alexander his connexion by marriage. And this plan was vastly more pleasing to Pixodarus than the former. But Philip, becoming aware of this, went to Alexander's chamber, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and companions, Philotas the son of Parmenio, and upbraided his son severely, and bitterly reviled him as ignoble and unworthy of his high estate, in that he desired to become the son-in-law of a man who was a Carian and a slave to a barbarian king. And as for Thessalus, Philip wrote to the Corinthians that they should send him back to Macedonia in chains. Moreover, of the other companions of Alexander, he banished from Mace-

Νέαρχον, ἔτι δ' Ἐριγύιον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέστησεν, οὓς ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος καταγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἔσχε τιμαῖς.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παυσανίας Ἀττάλου γνώμῃ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὑβρισθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχὼν δίκης ἀνεῖλε Φίλιππον, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εἰς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῆς αἰτίας περιῆλθεν, ὡς θυμουμένῳ τῷ νεανίσκῳ προσεγκελευσαμένην καὶ παροξύνασαν, ἔθιγε δέ τις καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβολή. λέγεται γὰρ ἐντυχόντος 67 αὐτῷ τοῦ Παυσανίου μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδυρομένου προενέγκασθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἰαμβεῖον·

τὸν δόντα καὶ γήμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συναιτίους τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναζητήσας ἐκόλασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀποδημοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ὠμῶς μεταχειρισαμένης ἠγανάκτησε.

XI. Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονὼς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μίση καὶ κινδύνους πανταχόθεν ἔχουσαν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ πρόσοικα γένη τὴν δούλωσιν ἔφερε, ποθοῦντα τὰς πατρίους βασιλείας, οὔτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα κρατήσας τοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ Φίλιππος οἷον καταζεῦξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι χρόνον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον

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[1] The *Medeia* of Euripides, v. 289 (Kirchhoff). The context makes the verse suggest the murder of Attalus, Philip, and Cleopatra.

donia Harpalus and Nearchus, as well as Erigyius and Ptolemy, men whom Alexander afterwards recalled and had in the highest honours.

And so when Pausanias, who had been outrageously dealt with at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no justice at Philip's hands, slew Philip, most of the blame devolved upon Olympias, on the ground that she had added her exhortations to the young man's anger and incited him to the deed; but a certain amount of accusation attached itself to Alexander also. For it is said that when Pausanias, after the outrage that he had suffered, met Alexander, and bewailed his fate, Alexander recited to him the iambic verse of the "Medeia"[1]:—

"The giver of the bride, the bridegroom, and the
bride."

However, he did seek out the participants in the plot and punished them, and was angry with Olympias for her savage treatment of Cleopatra during his absence.[2]

XI. Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, although Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the

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[2] "After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant son, together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire" (Pausanias, viii. 7, 5).

μεταβαλὼν καὶ ταράξας τὰ πράγματα πολὺν σάλον ἔχοντα καὶ κίνησιν ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἀπέλιπε.

2 *φοβουμένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν καιρόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πάντως ἀφεῖναι καὶ μὴ προσβιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰομένων δεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακαλεῖσθαι πρᾴως καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐναντίων λογισμῶν ὥρμησε τόλμῃ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς, κἂν ὁτιοῦν ὑφιέμενος ὀφθῇ τοῦ φρονήματος, ἐπιβησομένων*

3 *ἁπάντων. τὰ μὲν οὖν βαρβαρικὰ κινήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους κατέπαυσεν ὀξέως ἐπιδραμὼν στρατῷ μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἴστρον, ᾗ καὶ Σύρμον ἐνίκησε μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τριβαλλῶν· Θηβαίους δὲ ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, εὐθὺς ἦγε διὰ Πυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει παῖδα μὲν αὐτόν, ἕως ἦν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς, ἀποκαλοῦντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν γενόμενον, βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνὴρ φανῆναι.*

4 *Προσμίξας δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ διδοὺς ἔτι τῶν πεπραγμένων μετάνοιαν ἐξῄτει Φοίνικα καὶ Προθύτην, καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄδειαν ἐκήρυττε. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀντεξαιτούν-*

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[1] In September, 335 B.C. Plutarch makes no mention of a previous expedition of Alexander into Southern Greece, immediately after Philip's death, when he received the submis-

condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation. The Macedonian counsellors of Alexander had fears of the crisis, and thought he should give up the Greek states altogether and use no more compulsion there, and that he should call the revolting Barbarians back to their allegiance by mild measures and try to arrest the first symptoms of their revolutions; but he himself set out from opposite principles to win security and safety for his realm by boldness and a lofty spirit, assured that, were he seen to abate his dignity even but a little, all his enemies would set upon him. Accordingly, he put a speedy stop to the disturbances and wars among the Barbarians by overrunning their territories with an army as far as to the river Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, and defeated him; and on learning that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his forces through the pass of Thermopylae, declaring that since Demosthenes had called him a boy while he was among the Illyrians and Triballians, and a stripling when he had reached Thessaly, he wished to show him that before the walls of Athens he was a man.

Arrived before Thebes,[1] and wishing to give her still a chance to repent of what she had done, he merely demanded the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, and proclaimed an amnesty for those who came over to his side. But the Thebans made

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sion of all the Greek states except Sparta, and was made commander-in-chief of the expedition against Persia, in Philip's place. See Arrian, *Anab.* i. 1.

των μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον,
κηρυττόντων δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βουλομένους
συνελευθεροῦν τάττεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, οὕτως
5 ἔτρεψε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς πόλεμον. ἠγωνίσθη
μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀρετῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ
παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων[1] πολλαπλασίοις οὖσι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀντιταχθέντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Καδμείαν
ἀφέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπέπιπτον
αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν, κυκλωθέντες οἱ πλεῖστοι
κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἔπεσον, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἥλω
καὶ διαρπασθεῖσα κατεσκάφη, τὸ μὲν ὅλον προσδοκήσαντος
αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκπλαγέντας
πάθει τηλικούτῳ καὶ πτήξαντας ἀτρεμήσειν,
ἄλλως δὲ καὶ καλλωπισαμένου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς
τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκλήμασι· καὶ γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ
6 Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγόρησαν. ὑπεξελόμενος
δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους τῶν Μακεδόνων
ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας
καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοῖς ψηφισαμένοις τὴν
ἀπόστασιν, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ τρισμυρίους
γενομένους· οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους
ἦσαν.

XII. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς
ἐκείνοις ἃ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε, Θρᾷκές τινες ἐκκόψαντες
οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ
σώφρονος, αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ χρήματα διήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ
ἡγεμὼν τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ
καταισχύνας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ που χρυσίον ἔχοι κεκρυμμένον
2 ἢ ἀργύριον. ἡ δὲ ἔχειν ὡμολόγησε,

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[1] παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων Coraës and Bekker, following Reiske: τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων.

a counter-demand that he should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, and made a counter-proclamation that all who wished to help in setting Greece free should range themselves with them; and so Alexander set his Macedonians to the work of war. On the part of the Thebans, then, the struggle was carried on with a spirit and valour beyond their powers, since they were arrayed against an enemy who was many times more numerous than they; but when the Macedonian garrison also, leaving the citadel of the Cadmeia, fell upon them in the rear, most of them were surrounded, and fell in the battle itself, and their city was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was done, in the main, because Alexander expected that the Greeks would be terrified by so great a disaster and cower down in quiet, but apart from this, he also plumed himself on gratifying the complaints of his allies; for the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So after separating out the priests, all who were guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar,[1] and those who had voted against the revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, and they proved to be more than thirty thousand; those who had been slain were more than six thousand.

XII. Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her, and then asked her if she had gold or silver concealed anywhere. She admitted that she had, and after

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[1] "And we are told that Alexander preserved the house of Pindar the poet, and the descendants of Pindar, out of regard for Pindar" (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 9, 10).

καὶ μόνον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ δείξασα
φρέαρ, ἐνταῦθα ἔφη τῆς πόλεως ἁλισκομένης 671
καταβαλεῖν αὐτὴ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων.
ἐγκύπτοντος δὲ τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς καὶ κατασκεπτομένου
τὸν τόπον, ἔωσεν αὐτὸν ἐξόπισθεν γενομένη, καὶ
τῶν λίθων ἐπεμβαλοῦσα πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.
3 ὡς δὲ ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν
δεδεμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς
βαδίσεως ἐφάνη τις ἀξιωματικὴ καὶ μεγαλόφρων,
ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἑπομένη τοῖς ἄγουσιν·
ἔπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαντος ἥτις εἴη γυναικῶν,
ἀπεκρίνατο Θεαγένους ἀδελφὴ γεγονέναι,
τοῦ παραταξαμένου πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ πεσόντος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ
στρατηγοῦντος. θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐκέλευσεν
ἐλευθέραν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

XIII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ διηλλάγη, καίπερ οὐ μετρίως
ἐνεγκοῦσι τὸ περὶ Θήβας δυστύχημα· καὶ
γὰρ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἑορτὴν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες
ὑπὸ πένθους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τοῖς καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ[1]
τὴν πόλιν ἁπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώπων.
2 ἀλλ' εἴτε μεστὸς ὢν ἤδη τὸν θυμόν, ὥσπερ
οἱ λέοντες, εἴτε ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ὠμοτάτῳ καὶ σκυθρωποτάτῳ
παραβαλεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον
ἀφῆκεν αἰτίας πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε
τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς, εἴ
τι συμβαίη περὶ αὐτόν, ἄρξουσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
ὕστερον μέντοι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἡ Θηβαίων ἀνιᾶσαι
συμφορὰ λέγεται καὶ πρᾳότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις
3 παρασχεῖν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Κλεῖτον ἔργον

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[1] *καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ* Bekker corrects to *φυγοῦσιν εἰς.*

leading him by himself into the garden and showing him a well, told him that when the city was taken she had with her own hands cast in there her most valuable possessions. Then, as the Thracian was bending over and inspecting the place, she came behind him and pushed him in, cast many stones upon him, and killed him. And when the Thracians led her, with hands bound, to Alexander, she showed by her mien and gait that she was a person of great dignity and lofty spirit, so calmly and fearlessly did she follow her conductors; and when the king asked her who she was, she replied that she was a sister of Theagenes, who drew up the forces which fought Philip in behalf of the liberty of the Greeks, and fell in command at Chaeroneia. Amazed, therefore, at her reply and at what she had done, Alexander bade her depart in freedom with her children.

XIII. Furthermore, he was reconciled with the Athenians, although they showed exceeding sorrow at the misfortunes of Thebes; for although they had begun the festival of the mysteries, they gave it up in consequence of their grief,[1] and upon the Thebans who sought refuge in their city they bestowed every kindness. But notwithstanding this, whether his rage was now sated, as a lion's might be, or whether he wished to offset a deed of the most sullen savagery with one that was merciful, he not only remitted all his charges against the city, but even bade it give good heed to its affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, it would have the rule over Greece. In later times, moreover, as we are told, the calamity of the Thebans often gave him remorse, and made him milder towards many people. And certainly the

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[1] According to Arrian (i. 10, 2), it was from panic fright.

ἐν οἴνῳ γενόμενον καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀποδειλίασιν, ὥσπερ ἀτελῆ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ προεμένων, εἰς μῆνιν ἀνῆγε Διονύσου καὶ νέμεσιν. ἦν δὲ Θηβαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν περιγενομένων ὃς ἐντυχών τι καὶ δεηθεὶς ὕστερον οὐ διεπράξατο παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Θήβας.

XIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγέντων
καὶ ψηφισαμένων ἐπὶ Πέρσας μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
στρατεύειν ἡγεμὼν ἀνηγορεύθη. πολλῶν
δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀπηντηκότων
αὐτῷ καὶ συνηδομένων, ἤλπιζε καὶ Διογένην
τὸν Σινωπέα ταὐτὸ ποιήσειν, διατρίβοντα
2 περὶ Κόρινθον. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστον Ἀλεξάνδρου
λόγον ἔχων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ σχολὴν ἦγεν,
αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔτυχε δὲ κατακείμενος
ἐν ἡλίῳ. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἀνεκάθισεν, ἀνθρώπων
τοσούτων ἐπερχομένων, καὶ διέβλεψεν
εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀσπασάμενος
καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινος τυγχάνει
δεόμενος, "Μικρόν," εἶπεν, "ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μετάστηθι."
3 πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
οὕτω διατεθῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα
τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε
τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς ἀπῄεσαν, διαγελώντων καὶ
σκωπτόντων, "Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην, Διογένης ἂν ἤμην."

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[1] See chapter li. [2] See chapter lxii.

[3] This god was said to have been born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus the founder of Thebes.

murder of Cleitus,[1] which he committed in his cups, and the cowardly refusal of his Macedonians to follow him against the Indians,[2] whereby they as it were robbed his expedition and his glory of their consummation, he was wont to attribute to the vengeful wrath of Dionysus.[3] And there was not a Theban of those that survived who afterwards came to him with any request and did not get what he wanted from him. Thus much concerning Thebes.[4]

XIV. And now a general assembly of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus,[5] where a vote was passed to make an expedition against Persia with Alexander, and he was proclaimed their leader. Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to him with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw so many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, "Yes," said Diogenes, "stand a little out of my sun." It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

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[4] For a full account of Alexander's capture and destruction of Thebes, see Arrian, *Anab.* i. 8 f.

[5] See the note on xi. 5.

4 Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς
στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ κατὰ τύχην
ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται
θεμιστεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμπε παρακαλῶν τὴν
πρόμαντιν. ὡς δὲ ἀρνουμένης καὶ προϊσχομένης
τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἷλκεν
αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξηττημένη τῆς σπουδῆς εἶπεν·
“Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ,” τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος
οὐκέτι ἔφη χρῄζειν ἑτέρου μαντεύματος,
ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὃν ἐβούλετο παρ' αὐτῆς χρησμόν.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἄλλα τε
δοκεῖ σημεῖα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενέσθαι, καὶ
τὸ περὶ Λείβηθρα τοῦ Ὀρφέως ξόανον (ἦν δὲ
κυπαρίττινον) ἱδρῶτα πολὺν ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας
ἀφῆκε. φοβουμένων δὲ πάντων τὸ σημεῖον,
Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἀοιδίμους καὶ
περιβοήτους κατεργασόμενον πράξεις, αἳ πολὺν 672
ἱδρῶτα καὶ πόνον ὑμνοῦσι ποιηταῖς καὶ μουσικοῖς
παρέξουσι.

XV. Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν ἐλάχιστον
λέγοντες τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους
ἱππεῖς, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστον πεζοὺς μὲν
τετρακισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους
ἀναγράφουσιν. ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτοις
οὐ πλέον ἑβδομήκοντα ταλάντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν
Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστορεῖ, Δοῦρις δὲ τριάκοντα μόνον
ἡμερῶν διατροφήν, Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ διακόσια
2 τάλαντα προσοφείλειν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπὸ
μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν οὕτως ὁρμώμενος, οὐ πρότερον

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[1] In the early spring of 334 B.C.

[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 2.

And now, wishing to consult the god concerning the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and since he chanced to come on one of the inauspicious days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the first place he sent a summons to the prophetess. And when she refused to perform her office and cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if overcome by his ardour, she said: "Thou art invincible, my son!" On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, but had from her the oracle which he wanted.

Moreover, when he set out upon his expedition,[1] it appears that there were many signs from heaven, and, among them, the image of Orpheus at Leibethra (it was made of cypress-wood) sweated profusely at about that time. Most people feared the sign, but Aristander bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and story, which would cost poets and musicians much toil and sweat to celebrate.[2]

XV. As to the number of his forces, those who put it at the smallest figure mention thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; those who put it at the highest, forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse.[3] To provision these forces, Aristobulus says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and Onesicritus says he owed two hundred talents besides. But although he set out with such meagre and narrow resources, he would not set foot upon his ship until

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[3] "Not much more than thirty thousand foot, including light-armed troops and archers, and over five thousand horse" (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 3).

ἐπέβη τῆς νεὼς ἢ τὰ τῶν ἑταίρων πράγματα σκεψάμενος ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώμην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσοδον ἢ λιμένος. ἤδη δὲ καταναλωμένων καὶ διαγεγραμμένων σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁ Περδίκκας "Σεαυτῷ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί καταλείπεις;" τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας, "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτων κοινωνήσομεν οἱ μετὰ σοῦ στρατευόμενοι." 3 παραιτησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου τὴν διαγεγραμμένην κτῆσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔνιοι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν. τοῖς δὲ λαμβάνουσι καὶ δεομένοις προθύμως ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διανέμων οὕτως κατηνάλωσε. τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὁρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεπέρασεν.

4 Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον ἔθυσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ 5 τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιϊέναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκείνης ἔφη, τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ᾗ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὕμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνος.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἠθροικότων καὶ παρατεταγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γρανικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν

he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbour. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdiccas said to him: "But for thyself, O king, what art thou leaving?" And when the king answered, "My hopes," "In these, then," said Perdiccas, "we also will share who make the expedition with thee." Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did likewise. But upon those who wanted and would accept his favours Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions. Such was the ardour and such the equipment with which he crossed the Hellespont.

Then, going up to Ilium, he sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes. Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame. As he was going about and viewing the sights of the city, someone asked him if he wished to see the lyre of Paris. "For that lyre," said Alexander, "I care very little; but I would gladly see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave men."[1]

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Dareius had assembled a large force and set it in array at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that it was prac-

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[1] See the *Iliad*, ix. 185-191.

ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας, περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἀρχῆς· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν πέραν ὄχθων, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν μετὰ μάχης, τῶν πλείστων δεδιότων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν μῆνα νενομισμένον οἰομένων
2 δεῖν φυλάξασθαι (Δαισίου γὰρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν), τοῦτο μὲν ἐπηνωρθώσατο κελεύσας δεύτερον Ἀρτεμίσιον ἄγειν, τοῦ δὲ Παρμενίωνος, ὡς ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας οὔσης, οὐκ ἐῶντος ἀποκινδυνεύειν, εἰπὼν αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰ φοβήσεται τὸν Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκὼς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμβάλλει τῷ ῥεύ-
3 ματι σὺν ἴλαις ἱππέων τρισκαίδεκα. καὶ πρὸς ἐναντία βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορρῶγας ὅπλοις καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵπποις ἐλαύνων, καὶ διὰ ῥεύματος παραφέροντος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἔδοξε μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφὺς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν καὶ περισφαλῶν γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὐθὺς ἠναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὶν εἰς τάξιν
4 τινὰ καταστῆναι τοὺς διαβαίνοντας. ἐνέκειντο γὰρ κραυγῇ, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο δόρασι, καὶ ξίφεσι τῶν δοράτων συντριβέντων. ὠσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν (ἦν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπής, ἧς ἑκατέρωθεν εἱστήκει πτερὸν λευκό-

tically necessary to fight, as it were at the gates of Asia, for entrance and dominion there. But most of the Macedonian officers were afraid of the depth of the river, and of the roughness and unevenness of the farther banks, up which they would have to climb while fighting. Some, too, thought they ought to observe carefully the customary practice in regard to the month (for in the month of Daesius the kings of Macedonia were not wont to take the field with an army). This objection Alexander removed by bidding them call the month a second Artemisius; and when Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen. And since he was charging against hostile missiles and precipitous positions covered with infantry and cavalry, and through a stream that swept men off their feet and surged about them, he seemed to be acting like a frenzied and foolish commander rather than a wise one. However, he persisted in his attempt to cross, gained the opposite banks with difficulty and much ado, though they were moist and slippery with mud, and was at once compelled to fight pell-mell and engage his assailants man by man, before his troops who were crossing could form into any order. For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet's crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and

τητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν), ἀκοντισθεὶς μὲν
ὑπὸ τὴν ὑποπτυχίδα τοῦ θώρακος οὐκ ἐτρώθη, 673
Ῥοισάκου δὲ καὶ Σπιθριδάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν
προσφερομένων ἅμα, τὸν μὲν ἐκκλίνας, Ῥοισάκῃ
δὲ προεμβαλὼν τεθωρακισμένῳ καὶ τὸ δόρυ κατακλάσας
5 ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὥρμησε. συμπεπτωκότων
δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης ὑποστήσας ἐκ
πλαγίων τὸν ἵππον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς συνεξαναστὰς
κοπίδι βαρβαρικῇ κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸν μὲν
λόφον ἀπέρραξε μετὰ θατέρου πτεροῦ, τὸ δὲ κράνος
πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντέσχεν,
ὥστε τῶν πρώτων ψαῦσαι τριχῶν τὴν πτέρυγα
τῆς κοπίδος. ἑτέραν δὲ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην
πάλιν ἐπαιρόμενον ἔφθασε Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας τῷ
ξυστῷ διελάσας μέσον. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ῥοισάκης
ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξίφει πληγείς.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κινδύνου καὶ ἀγῶνος οὔσης τῆς
ἱππομαχίας ἥ τε φάλαγξ διέβαινε τῶν Μακεδόνων
καὶ συνῆγον αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις. οὐ μὴν ὑπέστησαν
εὐρώστως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον
τραπόμενοι, πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων.
οὗτοι δὲ πρός τινι λόφῳ συστάντες ᾔτουν τὰ
7 πιστὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ
λογισμῷ πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν τόν τε ἵππον ἀποβάλλει
ξίφει πληγέντα διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν (ἦν δὲ ἕτερος,
οὐχ ὁ Βουκεφάλας), καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν
ἀποθανόντων καὶ τραυματισθέντων ἐκεῖ συνέβη
κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ πεσεῖν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεγνωκότας
καὶ μαχίμους συμπλεκομένους.

whiteness. But although a javelin pierced the joint of his breastplate, he was not wounded; and when Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, made at him together, he avoided the one, and smote Rhoesaces, who wore a breastplate, with his spear; and when this weapon snapped in two with the blow, he took to his sword. Then, while he was thus engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up from one side, raised himself up on his horse, and with all his might came down with a barbarian battle-axe upon Alexander's head. Alexander's crest was broken off, together with one of its plumes, and his helmet could barely and with difficulty resist the blow, so that the edge of the battle-axe touched the topmost hair of his head. But while Spithridates was raising his arm again for another stroke, Cleitus, "Black Cleitus," got the start of him and ran him through the body with his spear. At the same time Rhoesaces also fell, smitten by Alexander's sword.

While Alexander's cavalry were making such a dangerous and furious fight, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry forces on both sides engaged. The enemy, however, did not resist vigorously, nor for a long time, but fled in a rout, all except the Greek mercenaries. These made a stand at a certain eminence, and asked that Alexander should promise them quarter. But he, influenced by anger more than by reason, charged foremost upon them and lost his horse, which was smitten through the ribs with a sword (it was not Bucephalas, but another); and most of the Macedonians who were slain or wounded fought or fell there, since they came to close quarters with men who knew how to fight and were desperate.

Λέγονται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων,
ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ
περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλός φησι τέσσαρας
καὶ τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς
8 πάντας, ὧν ἐννέα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν
ἐκέλευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθῆναι χαλκᾶς, ἃς Λύσιππος
εἰργάσατο. κοινούμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔπεμψε
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τριακοσίας ἀσπίδας, κοινῇ δὲ
τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλοτιμοτάτην
ἐπιγραφήν· "Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου
καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων." ἐκπώματα
δὲ καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῶν
Περσικῶν ἔλαβε, πάντα τῇ μητρὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων
ἔπεμψεν.

XVII. Οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μεγάλην εὐθὺς ἐποίησε
τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,
ὥστε καὶ Σάρδεις, τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμονίας, παραλαβεῖν καὶ
τἆλλα προστίθεσθαι. μόνη δὲ Ἁλικαρνασσὸς
ἀντέστη καὶ Μίλητος, ἃς ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος καὶ
τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἀμφίβολος
2 ἦν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν
ἔσπευδε Δαρείῳ συμπεσὼν ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι περὶ
τῶν ὅλων, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πράγμασι
καὶ χρήμασι διενοεῖτο πρῶτον οἷον ἐνασκήσας
καὶ ῥώσας αὑτὸν οὕτως ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ'

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[1] Diodorus (xvii. 21, 6) says that more than ten thousand Persian footmen fell, and not less than two thousand horsemen; while over twenty thousand were taken prisoners.

Of the Barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand footmen fell, and twenty-five hundred horsemen.[1] But on Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were footmen. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippus wrought them.[2] Moreover, desiring to make the Greeks partners in his victory, he sent to the Athenians in particular three hundred of the captured shields, and upon the rest of the spoils in general he ordered a most ambitious inscription to be wrought: "Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia." But the drinking vessels and the purple robes and whatever things of this nature he took from the Persians, all these, except a few, he sent to his mother.

XVII. This contest at once made a great change in the situation to Alexander's advantage, so that he received the submission even of Sardis, the bulwark of the barbarian dominion on the sea-coast, and added the rest of the country to his conquests. Halicarnassus alone withstood him, and Miletus, which cities he took by storm[3] and subdued all the territories about them. Then he was in doubt as to his future course. Many times he was eager to encounter Dareius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and

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[2] According to Arrian (*Anab.* i. 16, 4), about twenty-five of Alexander's companions, a select corps, fell at the first onset, and it was of these that Alexander ordered statues to be made by Lysippus.

[3] The siege and capture of these cities occupied Alexander till the late autumn of 334 B.C.

ἐκεῖνον. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λυκίας κρήνη περὶ τὴν Ξανθίων πόλιν, ἧς τότε λέγουσιν αὐτομάτως περιτραπείσης καὶ ὑπερβαλούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ δέλτον ἐκπεσεῖν χαλκῆν τύπους ἔχουσαν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλοῦτο παύσεσθαι[1] *τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καταλυθεῖσαν.*

3 *τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς ἠπείγετο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνακαθήρασθαι μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας. ἡ δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας παραδρομὴ πολλοῖς γέγονε τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπόθεσις γραφικὴ πρὸς ἔκπληξιν καὶ ὄγκον, ὡς θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ παραχωρήσασαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἄλλως ἀεὶ τραχεῖαν ἐκ πελάγους προσφερομένην, σπανίως δέ ποτε λεπτοὺς καὶ προσεχεῖς ὑπὸ τὰ κρημνώδη καὶ παρερρωγότα τῆς ὀρεινῆς πάγους διακαλύπτουσαν.*

4 *δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παίζων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον·*

> *ὡς Ἀλεξανδρῶδες ἤδη τοῦτο· κἂν ζητῶ τινα,*
> *αὐτόματος οὗτος παρέσται· κἂν διελθεῖν δηλαδὴ* 674
> *διὰ θαλάσσης δέῃ τόπον τιν᾽, οὗτος ἔσται μοι*
> *βατός.*

αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τερατευσάμενος ὁδοποιῆσαί φησι τὴν

[1] *παύσεσθαι* Sintenis², with C and Stephanus; *παύσασθαι* Sintenis¹ and Bekker.

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[1] According to Arrian (*Anab.* i. 26, 1 f.), there is no route along this beach except when the north wind blows. "But at that time, after strong south winds, the north winds

then to go up against that monarch. Now, there is in Lycia, near the city of Xanthus, a spring, which at this time, as we are told, was of its own motion upheaved from its depths, and overflowed, and cast forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters, in which it was made known that the empire of the Persians would one day be destroyed by the Greeks and come to an end. Encouraged by this prophecy, Alexander hastened to clear up the sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His rapid passage along the coasts of Pamphylia has afforded many historians material for bombastic and terrifying description. They imply that by some great and heaven-sent good fortune the sea retired to make way for Alexander, although at other times it always came rolling in with violence from the main, and scarcely ever revealed to sight the small rocks which lie close up under the precipitous and riven sides of the mountain.[1] And Menander, in one of his comedies,[2] evidently refers jestingly to this marvel :—

"How Alexander-like, indeed, this is; and if I seek
some one,
Spontaneous he'll present himself; and if I clearly
must
Pass through some place by sea, this will lie open
to my steps."

Alexander himself, however, made no such prodigy out of it in his letters, but says that he marched by

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blew, and rendered his passage easy and quick, not without the divine intervention, as both he and his followers interpreted."

[2] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 240.

λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὁρμήσας ἐκ
5 Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει διέτριψεν· ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος (ἦν δὲ Φασηλίτης) ἰδὼν εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν παιδιᾷ ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

XVIII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Πισιδῶν τε τοὺς ἀντιστάντας ᾕρει καὶ Φρυγίαν ἐχειροῦτο· καὶ Γόρδιον πόλιν, ἑστίαν Μίδου τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενέσθαι λεγομένην, παραλαβών, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἅμαξαν εἶδε φλοιῷ κρανίας ἐνδεδεμένην, καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῇ πιστευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκουσεν, ὡς τῷ λύσαντι τὸν δεσμὸν εἵμαρται βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι
2 τῆς οἰκουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί φασι, τῶν δεσμῶν τυφλὰς ἐχόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων πολλάκις σκολιοῖς ἑλιγμοῖς ὑποφερομένων, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀμηχανοῦντα λῦσαι διατεμεῖν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ σύναμμα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοπέντος ἀρχὰς φανῆναι. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ πάνυ λέγει ῥᾳδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν λύσιν γενέσθαι, ἐξελόντι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ἕστορα καλούμενον, ᾧ συνείχετο τὸ ζυγόδεσμον, εἶθ' οὕτως ὑφελκύσαντι τὸν ζυγόν.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας προσαγαγόμενος, καὶ τὴν Μέμνονος ἀκούσας τελευτήν, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Δαρείου στρατη-

way of the so-called Ladder, and passed through it, setting out from Phaselis. This was the reason for his spending several days in that city, during which he noticed that a statue of Theodectas, a deceased citizen of Phaselis, had been erected in the market-place. Once, therefore, after supper and in his cups, he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with many of their garlands, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the past association with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

XVIII. After this, he overpowered such of the Pisidians as had offered him resistance, and subdued Phrygia; and after he had taken the city of Gordium,[1] reputed to have been the home of the ancient Midas, he saw the much-talked-of waggon bound fast to its yoke with bark of the cornel-tree, and heard a story confidently told about it by the Barbarians, to the effect that whosoever loosed the fastening was destined to become king of the whole world. Well, then, most writers say that since the fastenings had their ends concealed, and were intertwined many times in crooked coils, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, and finally loosened the knot by cutting it through with his sword, and that when it was thus smitten many ends were to be seen. But Aristobulus says that he undid it very easily, by simply taking out the so-called "hestor," or *pin*, of the waggon-pole, by which the yoke-fastening was held together, and then drawing away the yoke.[2]

Setting out from there, he subdued Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and on hearing of the death of Memnon, one of the commanders of Dareius on the

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[1] Early in 333 B.C.

[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 3.

γῶν ἐπίδοξος ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ πράγματα
καὶ μυρίας ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ἀσχολίας παρέξειν,
4 ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω στρατείαν μᾶλλον. ἤδη
δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐκ Σούσων κατέβαινεν, ἐπαιρόμενός
τε τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως (ἑξήκοντα γὰρ
ἦγε μυριάδας στρατοῦ), καί τινος ὀνείρου θαρρύνοντος
αὐτόν, ὃν οἱ μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἐξηγοῦντο
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. ἔδοξε γὰρ πυρὶ νέμεσθαι
πολλῷ τὴν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, τὸν δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα στολὴν ἣν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει πρότερον
ἀστάνδης ὢν βασιλέως, ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ·
παρελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Βήλου τέμενος ἀφανῆ
5 γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπεδηλοῦτο
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρὰ μὲν γενήσεσθαι καὶ περιφανῆ
τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς
μὲν Ἀσίας κρατήσειν, ὥσπερ ἐκράτησε Δαρεῖος
ἐξ ἀστάνδου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ σὺν
δόξῃ τὸν βίον ἀπολείψειν.

XIX. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρησε καταγνοὺς
δειλίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν χρόνον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
διατρίψαντος. ἦν δὲ ἡ διατριβὴ διὰ νόσον, ἣν οἱ
μὲν ἐκ κόπων, οἱ δὲ λουσαμένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου
2 ῥεύματι καταπαγέντι[1] προσπεσεῖν λέγουσι. τῶν
μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει βοηθήσειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἰόμενοι πάσης ἰσχυρότερον
εἶναι βοηθείας ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι
διαβολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· Φίλιππος δ' ὁ

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[1] καταπαγέντι Bekker reads καὶ καταπαγέντι (*and got chilled*).

sea-board, who was thought likely to give Alexander abundant trouble and infinite annoyance, he was all the more encouraged for his expedition into the interior. Moreover, Dareius was already coming down to the coast from Susa, exalted in spirit by the magnitude of his forces (for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men), and also encouraged by a certain dream, which the Magi interpreted in a way to please him rather than as the probabilities demanded. For he dreamed that the Macedonian phalanx was all on fire, and that Alexander, attired in a robe which he himself formerly used to wear when he was a royal courier, was waiting upon him, after which service he passed into the temple of Belus and disappeared. By this means, as it would seem, it was suggested to Dareius from Heaven that the exploits of the Macedonians would be conspicuous and brilliant, that Alexander would be master of Asia, just as Dareius became its master when he was made king instead of royal courier, and would speedily end his life with glory.

XIX. Dareius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long delay in Cilicia, which he attributed to cowardice. The delay was due, however, to a sickness, which assailed him in consequence of fatigues, according to some,[1] but according to others, because he took a bath in the river Cydnus, whose waters were icy cold. Be that as it may, none of the other physicians had the courage to administer remedies, but thinking that the danger was too great to be overcome by any remedy whatever, they were afraid of the charges which would be made against them by the Macedonians in consequence of their failure;

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[1] So Aristobulus (Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 4, 7).

Ἀκαρνὰν μοχθηρὰ μὲν ἑώρα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα,
τῇ δὲ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἰ
κινδυνεύοντι μὴ συγκινδυνεύσει μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης
πείρας βοηθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε
φαρμακείᾳ καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπομεῖναι
καὶ πιεῖν, σπεύδοντα ῥωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Παρμενίων ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ
στρατοπέδου, διακελευόμενος αὐτῷ φυλάξασθαι
τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπεισμένον ἐπὶ
δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ γάμῳ θυγατρὸς ἀνελεῖν 675
Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοὺς καὶ
μηδενὶ δείξας τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον
ὑπέθηκεν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε
μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν
κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολήν,
αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ
4 ἀνυπόπτως, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν
ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος,
εἶτα ἅμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλεπόντων
οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου φαιδρῷ
τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν
Φίλιππον εὐμένειαν καὶ πίστιν ἀποφαίνοντος,
ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξισταμένου καὶ
ποτὲ μὲν θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀνατείνοντος τὰς χεῖρας, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ περιπίπτοντος
καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
5 εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον
ἐν ἀρχῇ κρατῆσαν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἀπέωσε καὶ
κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ φωνὴν
ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ
μικρὰ κομιδῆ γενέσθαι, λιποθυμίας ἐπιπεσούσης.

but Philip the Acarnanian, who saw that the king was in an evil plight, put confidence in his friendship, and thinking it a shameful thing not to share his peril by exhausting the resources of art in trying to help him even at great risk, prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it boldly, if he was anxious to regain his strength for the war. Meanwhile, however, Parmenio sent a letter to Alexander from the camp, urging him to be on his guard against Philip, for the reason that he had been persuaded by Dareius, with the promise of large gifts and a marriage with his daughter, to kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and placed it under his pillow, without showing it to any one of his friends. When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip came in with the king's companions, carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine from him with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight, then, and one well worthy of the stage,—the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine, and then both together turning their eyes upon one another, but not with the same expression; for Alexander, by his glad and open countenance, showed his good will towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was beside himself at the calumny, now lifting up his hands towards heaven and calling upon the gods to witness his innocence, and now falling upon the couch on which Alexander lay and beseeching him to be of good courage and obey his physician. For at first the medicine mastered the patient, and as it were drove back and buried deep his bodily powers, so that his voice failed, he fell into a swoon, and became almost wholly unconscious. However, he

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ῥαΐσας αὑτὸν ἐπέδειξε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀθυμοῦντες.

XX. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Δαρείου στρατῷ πεφευγὼς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, Ἀμύντας, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως. οὗτος ὡρμημένον ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον εἴσω τῶν στενῶν βαδίζειν ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐδεῖτο κατὰ χώραν ὑπομένειν, ἐν πλάτος ἔχουσι πεδίοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις πρὸς ἐλάττονας πλήθει τοσούτῳ διαμαχού-
2 μενον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ Δαρείου δεδιέναι μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποδράντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διαφυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, "Ἀλλὰ τούτου γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, χάριν θάρρει· βαδιεῖται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη βαδίζει." ταῦτα λέγων Ἀμύντας οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύετο Δαρεῖος εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἅμα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς
3 Συρίαν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ διαμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων αὖθις ἀνέστρεφον, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἡδόμενός τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ καὶ σπεύδων ἀπαντῆσαι περὶ τὰ στενά, Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐξελίξαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγνώκει παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐμβεβληκὼς ἑαυτὸν εἰς χωρία θαλάττῃ καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμῷ διὰ μέσου ῥέοντι τῷ Πινάρῳ δύσιππα, καὶ διεσπασμένα πολλαχοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα τὴν θέσιν.
4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν,

was speedily restored to his senses by Philip, and when he had recovered strength he showed himself to the Macedonians, who refused to be comforted until they had seen Alexander.

XX. Now, there was in the army of Dareius a certain Macedonian who had fled from his country, Amyntas by name, and he was well acquainted with the nature of Alexander. This man, when he saw that Dareius was eager to attack Alexander within the narrow passes of the mountains, begged him to remain where he was, that he might fight a decisive battle with his vast forces against inferior numbers in plains that were broad and spacious. And when Dareius replied that he was afraid the enemy would run away before he could get at them, and Alexander thus escape him, "Indeed," said Amyntas, "on this point, O king, thou mayest be without fear; for he will march against thee, nay, at this very moment, probably, he is on the march." Dareius would not listen to these words of Amyntas, but broke camp and marched into Cilicia, and at the same time Alexander marched into Syria against him. But having missed one another in the night, they both turned back again, Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and eager to meet his enemy in the passes, while Dareius was as eager to extricate his forces from the passes and regain his former camping-ground. For he already saw that he had done wrong to throw himself into places which were rendered unfit for cavalry by sea and mountains and a river running through the middle (the Pinarus), which were broken up in many parts, and favoured the small numbers of his enemy. And not only was the place for the battle a gift of Fortune to Alexander, but

ἐστρατήγησε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχόντων
πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι βέλτιον, ὅς γε τοσούτῳ πλήθει
τῶν βαρβάρων λειπόμενος ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ παρέσχε
κύκλωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον
ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ κέρας φυγὴν
ἐποίησε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν βαρβάρων, ἐν πρώτοις
ἀγωνιζόμενος, ὥστε τρωθῆναι ξίφει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς
μὲν Χάρης φησίν, ὑπὸ Δαρείου (συμπεσεῖν γὰρ
5 αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας), Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ τῆς
μάχης ἐπιστέλλων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον
οὐκ εἴρηκεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τρώσας, ὅτι δὲ τρωθείη
τὸν μηρὸν ἐγχειριδίῳ, δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
τραύματος συμβαίη γέγραφε.

Νικήσας δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ καταβαλὼν ὑπὲρ
ἕνδεκα μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων, Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐχ
εἷλε τέτταρας σταδίους ἢ πέντε προλαβόντα τῇ
φυγῇ, τὸ δὲ ἅρμα καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν
6 ἐπανῆλθε· καὶ κατέλαβε τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὸν μὲν
ἄλλον πλοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου
φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει,
καίπερ εὐζώνων πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραγενομένων
καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ
καταλιπόντων, τὴν δὲ Δαρείου σκηνὴν ἐξῃρηκότας 676
ἐκείνῳ, θεραπείας τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς
7 καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν γέμουσαν. εὐθὺς οὖν
ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ἐβάδιζεν,
εἰπών· "Ἴωμεν ἀπολουσόμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης
ἱδρῶτα τῷ Δαρείου λουτρῷ." καί τις τῶν
ἑταίρων "Μὰ τὸν Δία" εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τῷ
Ἀλεξάνδρου· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡττωμένων εἶναί τε δεῖ
8 καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος." ὡς δὲ

his generalship was better than the provisions of Fortune for his victory. For since he was so vastly inferior in numbers to the Barbarians, he gave them no opportunity to encircle him, but, leading his right wing in person, extended it past the enemy's left, got on their flank, and routed the Barbarians who were opposed to him, fighting among the foremost, so that he got a sword-wound in the thigh. Chares says this wound was given him by Dareius, with whom he had a hand-to-hand combat, but Alexander, in a letter to Antipater about the battle, did not say who it was that gave him the wound; he wrote that he had been wounded in the thigh with a dagger, but that no serious harm resulted from the wound.

Although he won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king's chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius." "No, indeed," said one of his companions, "but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his." And when he

εἶδε μὲν ὅλκια καὶ κρωσσοὺς καὶ πυέλους καὶ ἀλαβάστρους, πάντα χρυσοῦ, ἠσκημένα περιττῶς, ὠδώδει δὲ θεσπέσιον οἷον ὑπὸ ἀρωμάτων καὶ μύρων ὁ οἶκος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρῆλθεν εἰς σκηνὴν ὕψει τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ περὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν καὶ τραπέζας καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ κόσμῳ θαύματος ἀξίαν, διαβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, "Τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν," ἔφη, "τὸ βασιλεύειν."

XXI. Τρεπομένῳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ φράζει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένας μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρείου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότος ἐκείνου. συχνὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπαθὴς γενόμενος, πέμπει Λεοννάτον, ἀπαγγεῖλαι κελεύσας ὡς οὔτε Δαρεῖος τέθνηκεν οὔτε Ἀλέξανδρον δεδιέναι χρή·
2 Δαρείῳ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας πολεμεῖν, ἐκείναις δὲ πάντα ὑπάρξειν ὧν καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος ἠξιοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἡμέρου καὶ χρηστοῦ φανέντος ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπήντα φιλάνθρωπα. θάψαι γὰρ ὅσους ἐβούλοντο Περσῶν ἔδωκεν, ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ χρησαμέναις ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἣν εἶχον οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀφεῖλε, συντάξεις δὲ καὶ μεί-
3 ζονας ἐκαρποῦντο τῶν προτέρων. ἡ δὲ καλλίστη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη χάρις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶ γενναίαις γενομέναις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ σώφροσι μήτε ἀκοῦσαί τι μήτε ὑπονοῆσαι μήτε προσδοκῆ-

saw the basins and pitchers and tubs and caskets, all of gold, and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvellously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his companions and said: "This, as it would seem, is to be a king."

XXI. As he was betaking himself to supper, someone told him that among the prisoners were the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of Dareius, and that at sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonnatus, with orders to tell them that Dareius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Dareius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Dareius was undisputed king. If this message was thought by the women to be mild and kindly, still more did the actions of Alexander prove to be humane. For he gave them permission to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to use for this purpose raiment and adornment from the spoils, and he abated not one jot of their honourable maintenance, nay, they enjoyed even larger allowances than before. But the most honourable and most princely favour which these noble and chaste women received from him in their captivity was that they neither heard, nor suspected, nor

σαι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἁγίοις φυλαττομένας παρθενῶσιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἀόρατον ἑτέροις δίαιταν. καίτοι λέγεταί γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστάτην γενέσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παῖδας ἐοικέναι τοῖς γονεῦσιν.

4 Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἡγούμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἔθιγεν οὔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. αὕτη δέ, μετὰ τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτὴν χήρα γενομένη, περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη. πεπαιδευμένη δὲ παιδείαν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικὴς οὖσα καὶ πατρὸς Ἀρταβάζου γεγονότος ἐκ βασιλέως θυγατρός, ἐγνώσθη, Παρμενίωνος προτρεψαμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος, καλῆς
5 καὶ γενναίας ἅψασθαι γυναικός. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αἰχμαλώτους ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας ἔλεγε παίζων ὡς εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες. ἀντεπιδεικνύμενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμψεν.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ στρατηγὸς ἔγραψεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ Θεόδωρόν τινα Ταραντῖνον ἔχοντα παῖδας ὠνίους δύο τὴν ὄψιν ὑπερφυεῖς, καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ πρίηται, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκὼν ἐβόα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἐρωτῶν τί πώποτε Φιλόξενος αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ

awaited anything that could disgrace them, but lived, as though guarded in sacred and inviolable virgins' chambers instead of in an enemy's camp, apart from the speech and sight of men. And yet it is said that the wife of Dareius was far the most comely of all royal women, just as Dareius himself also was handsomest and tallest of men, and the daughters resembled their parents.

But Alexander, as it would seem, considering the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies, neither laid hands upon these women, nor did he know any other before marriage, except Barsiné. This woman, Memnon's widow, was taken prisoner at Damascus. And since she had received a Greek education, and was of an agreeable disposition, and since her father, Artabazus, was son of a king's daughter, Alexander determined (at Parmenio's instigation, as Aristobulus says) to attach himself to a woman of such high birth and beauty. But as for the other captive women, seeing that they were surpassingly stately and beautiful, he merely said jestingly that Persian women were torments to the eyes.[1] And displaying in rivalry with their fair looks the beauty of his own sobriety and self-control, he passed them by as though they were lifeless images for display.

XXII. Moreover, when Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea-board, wrote that there was with him a certain Theodorus, of Tarentum, who had two boys of surpassing beauty to sell, and enquired whether Alexander would buy them, Alexander was incensed, and cried out many times to his friends, asking them what shameful thing Philoxenus had ever

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[1] Cf. Herod. v. 18.

συνεγνωκὼς τοιαῦτα ὀνείδη προξενῶν κάθηται.
τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοιδορήσας
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον 677
2 εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀποστέλλειν. ἐπέπληξε δὲ καὶ
Ἅγνωνι γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Κρωβύλον
εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ βούλεται πριάμενος
ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. πυνθανόμενος δὲ μισθοφόρων
τινῶν γύναια διεφθαρκέναι Δάμωνα καὶ Τιμόθεον
Μακεδόνας τῶν ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνι στρατευομένων,
ἔγραψε Παρμενίωνι κελεύων, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν,
ὡς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
3 γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ περὶ
ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέγραφεν·
“Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι ἑωρακὼς ἂν εὑρεθείην
τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα ἢ βεβουλημένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς
προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον.” ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα
συνιέναι θνητὸς ὢν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνουσιάζειν,
ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγγινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ
φύσει καὶ τὸ πονοῦν καὶ τὸ ἡδόμενον.

4 Ἦν δὲ καὶ γαστρὸς ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦτο
ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἄδαν
λεχθεῖσιν, ἣν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας
βασίλισσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνη φιλοφρονουμένη
πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπέστελλεν
αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι
δεινοτάτους ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ ἀρτοποιούς, ἔφη τούτων
5 μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· βελτίονας γὰρ ὀψοποιοὺς
ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεδομένους

seen in him that he should spend his time in making such disgraceful proposals. And on Philoxenus himself he heaped much reproach in a letter, bidding him send Theodorus to perdition, merchandize and all. He severely rebuked Hagnon also for writing to him that he wanted to buy Crobylus, whose beauty was famous in Corinth, as a present for him. Furthermore, on learning that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers under Parmenio's command, had ruined the wives of certain mercenaries, he wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were convicted, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind. In this letter he also wrote expressly concerning himself: "As for me, indeed, it will be found not only that I have not seen the wife of Dareius or desired to see her, but that I have not even allowed people to speak to me of her beauty." And he used to say that sleep and sexual intercourse, more than any thing else, made him conscious that he was mortal, implying that both weariness and pleasure arise from one and the same natural weakness.

He had also the most complete mastery over his appetite, and showed this both in many other ways, and especially by what he said to Ada, whom he honoured with the title of Mother and made queen of Caria.[1] When, namely, in the kindness of her heart, she used to send him day by day many viands and sweetmeats, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skilful, he said he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks which had been given him by his tutor, Leonidas; for his break-

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 23, 8.

αὐτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον, νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὀλιγαριστίαν. "Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνήρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπιὼν τὰ ἀγγεῖα καὶ τῶν ἱματίων ἔλυεν, ἐπισκοπῶν μή τί μοι τρυφερὸν ἢ περισσὸν ἡ μήτηρ ἐντέθεικεν."

XXIII. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ἧττον ἢ ἐδόκει
καταφερής. ἔδοξε δὲ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν οὐ πίνων
μᾶλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἷλκεν ἐφ' ἑκάστης κύλικος, ἀεὶ
μακρόν τινα λόγον διατιθέμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς
σχολῆς οὔσης. ἐπεὶ πρός γε τὰς πράξεις οὐκ
οἶνος ἐκεῖνον, οὐχ ὕπνος, οὐ παιδιά τις, οὐ γάμος,
οὐ θέα, καθάπερ ἄλλους στρατηγούς, ἐπέσχε.
2 δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ βίος, ὃν βιώσας βραχὺν παντάπασι,
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων ἐνέπλησεν. ἐν
δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας
τοῖς θεοῖς εὐθὺς ἠρίστα καθήμενος· ἔπειτα διημέρευε
κυνηγῶν ἢ δικάζων ἢ συντάττων τι τῶν
πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγινώσκων. εἰ δὲ ὁδὸν βαδίζοι
μὴ λίαν ἐπείγουσαν, ἐμάνθανεν ἅμα πορευόμενος
ἢ τοξεύειν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἅρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ
3 ἀποβαίνειν. πολλάκις δὲ παίζων καὶ ἀλώπεκας
ἐθήρευε καὶ ὄρνιθας, ὡς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐφημερίδων.
καταλύσας δὲ καὶ τρεπόμενος πρὸς
λουτρὸν ἢ ἄλειμμα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν καὶ
μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρεπῶς
ἔχουσι. καὶ δειπνεῖν μὲν ὀψὲ καὶ σκότους
ἤδη κατακλινόμενος ἤρχετο, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ
ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅπως
μηδὲν ἀνίσως μηδὲ ὀλιγώρως διανέμοιτο· τὸν δὲ

fast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast. "And this same Leonidas," he said, "used to come and open my chests of bedding and clothing, to see that my mother did not hide there for me some luxury or superfluity."

XXIII. To the use of wine also he was less addicted than was generally believed. The belief arose from the time which he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking, always holding some long discourse, and this too when he had abundant leisure. For in the stress of affairs he was not to be detained, as other commanders were, either by wine, or sleep, or any sport, or amour, or spectacle. This is proved by his life, which, though altogether brief, he filled to overflowing with the greatest exploits. In his times of leisure, however, after rising and sacrificing to the gods, he immediately took breakfast sitting; then, he would spend the day in hunting, or administering justice, or arranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practise, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals. After he had taken quarters for the night, and while he was enjoying bath or anointing, he would enquire of his chief cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for his supper were duly made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and marvellous was his care and circumspection at table, in order that everything might be served impartially and without stint; but

πότον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μακρὸν ὑπὸ ἀδολεσχίας
4 ἐξέτεινε. καὶ τἆλλα πάντων ἥδιστος ὢν βασιλέων
συνεῖναι καὶ χάριτος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀμοιρῶν,
τότε ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις ἀηδὴς ἐγίνετο καὶ λίαν
στρατιωτικός, αὐτός τε πρὸς τὸ κομπῶδες ὑποφερόμενος
καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεικὼς ἱππάσιμον,
ὑφ' ὧν οἱ χαριέστεροι τῶν παρόντων
ἐπετρίβοντο, μήτε ἁμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς κόλαξι μήτε
λείπεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαίνων. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐδόκει, τὸ δὲ κίνδυνον ἔφερε.
5 μετὰ δὲ τὸν πότον λουσάμενος ἐκάθευδε πολλάκις
μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διημέρευεν 67
ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν.

Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄψων ἐγκρατὴς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ
τὰ σπανιώτατα πολλάκις τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης
αὐτῷ κομιζομένων ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἰχθύων ἑκάστῳ
διαπεμπόμενος τῶν ἑταίρων ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ μηδὲν
6 καταλιπεῖν· τὸ μέντοι δεῖπνον ἦν ἀεὶ μεγαλοπρεπές,
καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι τῆς δαπάνης ἅμα
συναυξομένης τέλος εἰς μυρίας δραχμὰς προῆλθεν.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὡρίσθη τελεῖν
τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ πέμψας εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Περσῶν. καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ὠφελήθησαν οἱ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἱππεῖς· τούτους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διαφερόντως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένους ἔπεμψεν ἐπί-

over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for conversation's sake. And although in other ways he was of all princes most agreeable in his intercourse, and endowed with every grace, at this time his boastfulness would make him unpleasant and very like a common soldier. Not only was he himself carried away into blustering, but he suffered himself to be ridden by his flatterers. These were a great annoyance to the finer spirits in the company, who desired neither to vie with the flatterers, nor yet to fall behind them in praising Alexander. The one course they thought disgraceful, the other had its perils. After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, frequently until midday; and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he himself, at all events, was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them to each of his companions until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay upon them increased with his successes until it reached the sum of ten thousand drachmas. There it stood, and that was the prescribed limit of expenditure for those who entertained Alexander.

XXIV. After the battle at Issus,[1] he sent to Damascus and seized the money and baggage of the Persians together with their wives and children. And most of all did the Thessalian horsemen enrich themselves, for they had shown themselves surpassingly brave in the battle, and Alexander sent them on this expedition purposely, wishing to have them enrich

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[1] November, 333 B.C.

τηδες ὠφεληθῆναι βουλόμενος· ἐνεπλήσθη δὲ καὶ
2 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐπορίας στρατόπεδον. καὶ γευσά-
μενοι τότε πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες χρυσοῦ καὶ
ἀργύρου καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ διαίτης βαρβαρικῆς,
ὥσπερ κύνες ἔσπευδον ἀψάμενοι στίβου διώκειν
καὶ ἀνιχνεύειν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πλοῦτον.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾿ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρῶτον ἐδόκει κρατύ-
νεσθαι τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ. Κύπρον μὲν οὖν
εὐθὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἧκον ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ
3 Φοινίκην πλὴν Τύρου. Τύρον δὲ πολιορκῶν ἑπτὰ
μῆνας χώμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ τριήρεσι δια-
κοσίαις ἐκ θαλάττης, ὄναρ εἶδε τὸν Ἡρακλέα
δεξιούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ καλοῦντα.
τῶν δὲ Τυρίων πολλοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἔδοξεν
ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγειν ὡς ἄπεισι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον·
οὐ γὰρ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ πρασσόμενα κατὰ τὴν
4 πόλιν. ἀλλ᾿ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον αὐτο-
μολοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπ᾿ αὐτοφώρῳ
τὸν θεὸν εἰληφότες σειράς τε τῷ κολοσσῷ περιέ-
βαλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καθήλουν πρὸς τὴν βάσιν,
Ἀλεξανδριστὴν καλοῦντες. ἑτέραν δὲ ὄψιν
5 Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Σάτυρος
αὐτῷ φανεὶς ἐδόκει προσπαίζειν πόρρωθεν, εἶτα
βουλομένου λαβεῖν ὑπεξέφευγε· τέλος δὲ πολλὰ
λιπαρήσαντος καὶ περιδραμόντος ἦλθεν εἰς χεῖ-
ρας. οἱ δὲ μάντεις τοὔνομα διαιροῦντες οὐκ ἀπι-
θάνως ἔφασαν αὐτῷ· “Σὴ γενήσεται Τύρος.”
καὶ κρήνην δέ τινα δεικνύουσι, πρὸς ἣν κατὰ τοὺς
ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε τὸν Σάτυρον.

6 Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας
τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ στρατεύσας

themselves. But the rest of the army also was filled with wealth. Then for the first time the Macedonians got a taste of gold and silver and women and barbaric luxury of life, and now that they had struck the trail, they were like dogs in their eagerness to pursue and track down the wealth of the Persians.

However, Alexander determined first to make himself master of the sea-coasts. As for Cyprus, then, its kings came at once and put the island in his hands, together with Phoenicia, with the exception of Tyre. But Tyre he besieged for seven months,[1] with moles, and engines-of-war, and two hundred triremes by sea. During this siege he had a dream in which he saw Heracles stretching out his hand to him from the wall and calling him. And many of the Tyrians dreamed that Apollo told them he was going away to Alexander, since he was displeased at what was going on in the city. Whereupon, as if the god had been a common deserter caught in the act of going over to the enemy, they encircled his colossal figure with cords and nailed it down to its pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. In another dream, too, Alexander thought he saw a satyr who mocked him at a distance, and eluded his grasp when he tried to catch him, but finally, after much coaxing and chasing, surrendered. The seers, dividing the word "satyros" into two parts, said to him, plausibly enough, "Tyre is to be thine." And a spring is pointed out, near which Alexander dreamed he saw the satyr.

While the siege of the city was in progress, he made an expedition against the Arabians who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Antilibanus. On

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[1] January–August, 332 B.C.

ἐκινδύνευσε διὰ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν Λυσίμαχον· ἐξηκολούθησε
γὰρ αὐτῷ λέγων τοῦ Φοίνικος οὐκ
εἶναι χείρων οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησιάσας
τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπολιπὼν
πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολὺ προῆλθον,
7 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Λυσίμαχον, ἑσπέρας ἤδη καταλαμβανούσης
καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπαγορεύοντα
καὶ βαρυνόμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολιπεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ παρακομίζων,
ἔλαθε τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποσπασθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων
καὶ σκότους ἅμα καὶ ῥίγους σφοδροῦ νυκτερεύων
8 ἐν χωρίοις χαλεποῖς. εἶδεν οὖν πόρρω πυρὰ
πολλὰ καιόμενα σποράδην τῶν πολεμίων. θαρρῶν
δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῇ κουφότητι, καὶ τῷ πονεῖν
αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων,
προσέδραμε τοῖς ἔγγιστα πῦρ καίουσι· καὶ
περικαθημένους τῇ πυρᾷ δύο βαρβάρους πατάξας
τῷ ἐγχειριδίῳ καὶ δαλὸν ἁρπάσας ἧκε πρὸς τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων. ἐγκαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ πολὺ τοὺς
μὲν εὐθὺς ἐφόβησαν ὥστε φυγεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιόντας
ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατηυλίσθησαν ἀκινδύνως.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Χάρης ἱστόρηκεν.

XXV. Ἡ δὲ πολιορκία τοιοῦτον ἔσχε πέρας.
Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν πολλὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναπαύοντος
ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν,
ὀλίγους δέ τινας, ὡς μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, 679
τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντος, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις
ἐσφαγιάζετο· καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν θρασύτερον

this expedition he risked his life to save his tutor, Lysimachus, who insisted on following him, declaring himself to be neither older nor weaker than Phoenix.[1] But when the force drew near the mountains, they abandoned their horses and proceeded on foot, and most of them got far on in advance. Alexander himself, however, would not consent to abandon the worn and weary Lysimachus, since evening was already coming on and the enemy were near, but sought to encourage him and carry him along. Before he was aware of it, therefore, he was separated from his army with a few followers, and had to spend a night of darkness and intense cold in a region that was rough and difficult. In this plight, he saw far off a number of scattered fires which the enemy were burning. So, since he was confident in his own agility, and was ever wont to cheer the Macedonians in their perplexities by sharing their toils, he ran to the nearest camp-fire. Two Barbarians who were sitting at the fire he despatched with his dagger, and snatching up a fire-brand, brought it to his own party. These kindled a great fire and at once frightened some of the enemy into flight, routed others who came up against them, and spent the night without further peril. Such, then, is the account we have from Chares.

XXV. The siege of the city had the following issue. While Alexander was giving the greater part of his forces a rest from the many struggles which they had undergone, and was leading up only a few men to attack the walls, in order that the enemy might have no respite, Aristander the seer made a sacrifice, and after taking the omens, declared very confidently

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[1] Cf. chapter v. 5.

διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μηνὶ
2 πάντως ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. γενομένου δὲ
χλευασμοῦ καὶ γέλωτος (ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ
μηνὸς ἡμέρα), διηπορημένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς
καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασιν
ἐκέλευε μηκέτι τριακάδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην,
ἀλλὰ τρίτην φθίνοντος ἀριθμεῖν· καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι
σημήνας ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρωμενέστερον
ἤπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διενοήθη. γενομένης δὲ
λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου
καρτερούντων, ἀλλὰ συντρεχόντων καὶ προσβοηθούντων,
ἀπεῖπον οἱ Τύριοι· καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἷλε
κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολιορκοῦντι Γάζαν αὐτῷ, τῆς
Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐμπίπτει βῶλος εἰς τὸν
ὦμον ἀφεθεὶς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ ὄρνιθος. ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ἐφ'
ἓν τῶν μηχανημάτων καθίσας ἔλαθεν ἐνσχεθεὶς
τοῖς νευρίνοις κεκρυφάλοις, οἷς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς
4 τῶν σχοινίων ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον
ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστάνδρου πρόρρησιν· ἐτρώθη
μὲν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὦμον, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν
πόλιν. ἀποστέλλων δὲ πολλὰ τῶν λαφύρων
Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, κατέπεμψε
καὶ Λεωνίδῃ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τάλαντα
λιβανωτοῦ πεντακόσια καὶ σμύρνης ἑκατόν, ἀναμνησθεὶς
5 παιδικῆς ἐλπίδος. ὁ γὰρ Λεωνίδης, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐν θυσίᾳ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιδραξάμενον
ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ καθαγίσαντα
τοῦ θυμιάματος, "Ὅταν," ἔφη, "τῆς

to the bystanders that the city would certainly be captured during that month. His words produced laughter and jesting, since it was then the last day of the month, and the king, seeing that he was perplexed, and being always eager to support his prophecies, gave orders to reckon that day, not as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-eighth; and then, after the trumpet had sounded the signal, he attacked the walls with greater vigour than he had at first intended. The assault became fierce, and even those troops which had been left in camp could not restrain themselves, but ran in throngs to help the assailants, and the Tyrians gave up the fight. So Alexander took the city on that day.

After this, as he was giving siege to Gaza,[1] the principal city of Syria, a clod of earth, which had been dropped from on high by a bird, struck him on the shoulder. The bird alighted on one of the battering-engines, and was at once caught in the network of sinews which were used to give a twist to the ropes.[2] And the omen was fulfilled as Aristander predicted; for though Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, he took the city. Moreover, as he was dispatching great quantities of the spoils home to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends, he sent also to Leonidas his tutor five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of the hope with which that teacher had inspired his boyhood. It would seem, namely, that Leonidas, as Alexander was one day sacrificing and taking incense with both hands to throw upon the altar-fire, said to him:—"Alexander,

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[1] During September and October of 332 B.C.

[2] Cf. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* iv. 6, 11 f.

ἀρωματοφόρου κρατήσῃς, Ἀλέξανδρε, πλουσίως οὕτως ἐπιθυμιάσεις· νῦν δὲ φειδομένως χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι." τότε οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι λιβανωτὸν ἄφθονον καὶ σμύρναν, ὅπως παύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μικρολογούμενος."

XXVI. Κιβωτίου δέ τινος αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἠρώτα τοὺς φίλους ὅ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσθαι· πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα
2 φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες, ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὔκουν ἀργὸς οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὅμηρος. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καί τινα τόπον γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο
3 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἶτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν· ἀνὴρ πολιὸς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν.

εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἣ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν, τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείλη-

when thou hast conquered the spice-bearing regions thou canst be thus lavish with thine incense; now, however, use sparingly what thou hast." Accordingly, Alexander now wrote him: "I have sent thee myrrh and frankincense in abundance, that thou mayest stop dealing parsimoniously with the gods."

XXVI. When a small coffer was brought to him, which those in charge of the baggage and wealth of Dareius thought the most precious thing there, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought would most fittingly be deposited in it. And when many answered and there were many opinions, Alexander himself said he was going to deposit the Iliad there for safe keeping.[1] This is attested by many trustworthy authorities. And if what the Alexandrians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or unprofitable companion for him in his expedition. They say, namely, that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and populous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with very hoary locks and of a venerable aspect appeared to stand by his side and recite these verses:—

"Now, there is an island in the much-dashing sea,
In front of Egypt; Pharos is what men call it."[2]

Accordingly, he rose up at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now it has been

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[1] Cf. chapter viii. 2.
[2] *Odyssey*, iv. 354 f.

4 πται πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τόπον
εὐφυΐᾳ διαφέροντα (ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἰσθμῷ
πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς διείργουσα
λίμνην τε πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι
μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν), εἰπὼν ὡς Ὅμηρος ἦν ἄρα
τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέκτων,
ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως
5 τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας. καὶ γῆ μὲν οὐ παρῆν
λευκή, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ
μελαγγείῳ κυκλοτερῆ κόλπον ἦγον, οὗ τὴν ἐντὸς
περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖαι βάσεις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων
εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι
τὸ μέγεθος. ἡσθέντος δὲ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ 680
βασιλέως αἰφνίδιον ὄρνιθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ
τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος
παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταίροντες
νέφεσιν ἐοικότες οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπέλιπον τῶν
ἀλφίτων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταραχθῆναι
πρὸς τὸν οἰωνόν.

6 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν παραινούντων
(πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τροφόν)
ἔργου κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς
αὐτὸς ὥρμησεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος, ὁδὸν μακρὰν καὶ
πολλὰ μὲν ἔχουσαν ἐργώδη καὶ ταλαίπωρα, κινδύνους
δὲ δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀνυδρίας, δι' ἣν ἔρημός ἐστιν
οὐκ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, τὸν δέ, εἰ λάβρος ἐν ἄμμῳ
βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ πορευομένοις ἐπιπέσοι νότος,

joined to the mainland by a causeway. And when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a large harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site. There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal[1] and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly.[2] The king was delighted with the design; but suddenly birds from the river and the lagoon, infinite in number and of every sort and size, settled down upon the place like clouds and devoured every particle of the barley-meal, so that even Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen.

However, the seers exhorted him to be of good cheer, since the city here founded by him would have most abundant and helpful resources and be a nursing mother for men of every nation, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed with it, while he himself set out for the temple of Ammon. The journey thither was long, full of toils and hardships, and had two perils. One is the dearth of water, which leaves the traveller destitute of it for many days; the other arises when a fierce south wind smites men travelling in sand of boundless depth,

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 2, 1.

[2] See Tarbell, "The Form of the Chlamys," *Classical Philology*, 1906, p. 285.

ὥς που καὶ πάλαι λέγεται περὶ τὸν Καμβύσου
στρατόν, ἀναστήσας θῖνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας
τὸ πεδίον μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πέντε καταχῶσαι
7 *καὶ διαφθεῖραι. ταῦτα πάντα σχεδὸν πάντες*
ἐλογίζοντο, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἦν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποτρέψαι
πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ὡρμημένον. ἥ τε γὰρ τύχη ταῖς
ἐπιβολαῖς ὑπείκουσα τὴν γνώμην ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίει,
καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπεξέφερε
τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἀήττητον, οὐ μόνον πολεμίους,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καταβιαζομένην.

XXVII. *Ἐν γοῦν τῇ τότε πορείᾳ τὰ συντυχόντα*
ταῖς ἀπορίαις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθήματα
τῶν ὑστέρων χρησμῶν ἐπιστεύθη μᾶλλον· τρόπον
δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων
ὑπῆρξε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ πολὺ
καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑετοὶ γενόμενοι τόν τε τῆς δίψης
φόβον ἔλυσαν, καὶ τὴν ξηρότητα κατασβέσαντες
τῆς ἄμμου, νοτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ πρὸς αὑτὴν
ξυμπεσούσης, εὔπνουν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ καθαρώτερον
2 *παρέσχον. ἔπειτα τῶν ὅρων, οἵπερ ἦσαν τοῖς*
ὁδηγοῖς, συγχυθέντων καὶ πλάνης οὔσης καὶ
διασπασμοῦ τῶν βαδιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν,
κόρακες ἐκφανέντες ὑπελάμβανον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
τῆς πορείας, ἑπομένων μὲν ἔμπροσθεν πετόμενοι
καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὑστεροῦντας δὲ καὶ βραδύνοντας
3 *ἀναμένοντες· ὃ δὲ ἦν θαυμασιώτατον, ὡς Καλλισθένης*
φησί, ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τοὺς

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[1] Cf. Herod. iii. 26.

[2] According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, two serpents served Alexander's army as guides to the oracle and back again. "But Aristobulus, whose account is generally admitted to

as is said to have been the case with the army of Cambyses, long ago; the wind raised great billows of sand all over the plain and buried up fifty thousand men, to their utter destruction.[1] Almost all of Alexander's followers took all these things into consideration, but it was difficult to turn him aside from any course so ever when he had once set out upon it. For Fortune, by yielding to his onsets, was making his purpose obstinate, and the high spirit which he carried into his undertakings rendered his ambition finally invincible, so that it subdued not only enemies, but even times and places.

XXVII. At all events, during the journey which he made at this time, the assistance rendered him by Heaven in his perplexities met with more credence than the oracles which he afterwards received, nay, in a way, the oracles obtained credence in consequence of such assistance. For, to begin with, much rain from heaven and persistent showers removed all fear of thirst, quenched the dryness of the sand, so that it became moist and compact, and made the air purer and good to breathe. Again, when the marks for the guides became confused, and the travellers were separated and wandered about in ignorance of the route, ravens appeared and assumed direction of their march,[2] flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night,

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be correct, says that two ravens flew in front of the army and acted as Alexander's guides" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 3, 5 f.).

πλανωμένους νύκτωρ καὶ κλάζοντες εἰς ἴχνος καθίστασαν τῆς πορείας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεξελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον ἧκεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν προφήτης αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄμμωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαίρειν, ὡς ἀπὸ πατρός, προσεῖπεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπήρετο μή τις αὐτὸν εἴη διαπεφευγὼς τῶν τοῦ 4 πατρὸς φονέων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πατέρα θνητὸν αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ἐπυνθάνετο, τοὺς Φιλίππου φονεῖς εἰ πάντας εἴη τετιμωρημένος· εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ πάντων αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων κυρίῳ γενέσθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο διδόναι καὶ Φίλιππον ἀπέχειν ἔκπλεω τὴν δίκην, ἐδωρεῖτο τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι λαμπροῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

5 Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι γράφουσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας ἀπορρήτους, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὸν μὲν προφήτην Ἑλληνιστὶ βουλόμενον προσειπεῖν μετά τινος φιλοφροσύνης "Ὦ παιδίον," ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν φθόγγων ὑπὸ βαρβαρισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ σίγμα ἐξενεχθῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, "Ὦ παιδίος," ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ τῷ σίγμα χρησάμενον, ἀσμένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σφάλμα τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι καὶ διαδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς παῖδα Διὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσειπόντος. 6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διακούσας ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ κρατοῦν

and cawed until they had set them in the track of the march.

When Alexander had passed through the desert and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from a father; whereupon Alexander asked him whether any of the murderers of his father had escaped him. To this the prophet answered by bidding him be guarded in his speech, since his was not a mortal father. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question, and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished; and then, regarding his own empire, he asked whether it was given to him to become lord and master of all mankind. The god gave answer that this was given to him, and that Philip was fully avenged. Then Alexander made splendid offerings to the god and gave his priests large gifts of money

This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself, in a letter to his mother, says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by addressing him with "O paidion," or *O my son*, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with "s" instead of "n," and said, "O paidios," and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with "O pai Dios," or *O son of Zeus*. We are told, also, that he listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that

θεῖόν ἐστιν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων 68 φιλοσοφώτερον δοξάζειν καὶ λέγειν, ὡς πάντων μὲν ὄντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἰδίους δὲ ποιούμενον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.

XXVIII. Καθόλου δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους σοβαρὸς ἦν καὶ σφόδρα πεπεισμένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τεκνώσεως ὅμοιος, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφειδομένως ἑαυτὸν ἐξεθείαζε· πλὴν περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίοις, “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄν,” φησίν, “ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον· ἔχετε δὲ αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένου,” λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον. 2 ὕστερον δὲ πληγῇ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ τοξεύματος καὶ περιαλγὴς γενόμενος, “Τοῦτο μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φίλοι, τὸ ῥέον αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ

ἰχώρ, οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.”

ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλης ποτὲ βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ σοφιστὴς παρὼν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν, “Μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Διός;” γελάσας ἐκεῖνος, “Οὐ βούλομαι γάρ,” εἶπε, “φοβερὸς εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις, ὥσπερ σύ με κελεύεις ὁ καταφαυλίζων μου τὸ δεῖπνον, ὅτι ταῖς τραπέζαις ἰχθύας ὁρᾷς ἐπικειμένους, οὐ σατραπῶν κεφαλάς.” 3 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον ἰχθυδίων Ἡφαιστίωνι πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι λόγον, οἷον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωνευόμενον

which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

XXVIII. In general, he bore himself haughtily towards the Barbarians, and like one fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage, but with the Greeks it was within limits and somewhat rarely that he assumed his own divinity. However, in writing to the Athenians concerning Samos, he said: "I cannot have given you that free and illustrious city; for ye received it from him who was then your master and was called my father," meaning Philip. At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering great pain, he said: "This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not

'Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed
gods.'"[1]

Once, too, there came a great peal of thunder, and all were terrified at it; whereupon Anaxarchus the sophist who was present said to Alexander: "Couldst thou, the son of Zeus, thunder like that?" At this, Alexander laughed and said: "Nay, I do not wish to cause fear in my friends, as thou wouldst have me do, thou who despisest my suppers because, as thou sayest, thou seest the tables furnished with fish, and not with satraps' heads."[2] For, in fact, we are told that Anaxarchus, on seeing a present of small fish which the king had sent to Hephaestion, had uttered the speech above mentioned, as though he were dis-

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[1] *Iliad*, v. 340.

[2] Cf. Athenaeus, pp. 250 f.

τοὺς τὰ περίβλεπτα μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις διώκοντας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἐν ἡδοναῖς και ἀπολαύσεσι πλέον ἔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλός ἐστιν αὐτὸς οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς οὐδὲ τετυφωμένος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καταδουλούμενος τῇ δόξῃ τῆς θειότητος.

XXIX. Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἁμίλλαις λαμπροὺς γενομένους. ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι τὰς φυλάς, καὶ ἠγωνίζοντο θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφιλονείκησαν.
2 οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς
χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδόρῳ, Νικοκρέων
δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον
ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν
Ἀθηνόδωρον. τότε δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς
μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως
προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν
3 ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν
Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἠξίου γράψαι περὶ

paraging and ridiculing those who undergo great toils and dangers in the pursuit of eminence and power, since in the way of enjoyments and pleasures they have little or nothing more than other men. From what has been said, then, it is clear that Alexander himself was not foolishly affected or puffed up by the belief in his divinity, but used it for the subjugation of others.

XXIX. When he had returned from Egypt into Phoenicia,[1] he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions, and held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies which were made brilliant, not only by their furnishings, but also by the competitors who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were the choregi, or exhibitors, just like, at Athens, those chosen by lot from the tribes, and they competed against each other with amazing ambition. Most eager of all was the contention between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasicrates of Soli. For the lot assigned to these exhibitors the most celebrated actors, to Pasicrates Athenodorus, and to Nicocreon Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was interested. He did not reveal this interest, however, until, by the votes of the judges, Athenodorus had been proclaimed victor. But then, as it would appear, on leaving the theatre, he said that he approved the decision of the judges, but would gladly have given up a part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. And yet, when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for not keeping his engagement in the dramatic contest of their Dionysiac festival, asked the king to write a letter to them in his behalf,

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[1] Early in 331 B.C.

αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.

4 Δαρείου δὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους δεομένους μύρια μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαλωκότων λαβεῖν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἔχοντα καὶ γήμαντα μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς ἑταίροις· καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος "Ἐγὼ μέν, εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην, ἔλαβον ἂν ταῦτα," "Κἀγώ, νὴ Δία," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, "εἰ Παρμενίων." πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσει τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἤδη πορεύεσθαι.

XXX. Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη τῆς Δαρείου
γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὠδῖσι· καὶ φανερὸς ἦν 68
ἀνιώμενος ὡς ἐπίδειξιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφῃρημένος
χρηστότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον οὐ-
δεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμη-
πόλων τις εὐνούχων, οἳ συνεαλώκεισαν ταῖς γυ-
ναιξίν, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς
Δαρεῖον ἀφιππασάμενος, Τείρεως ὄνομα, φράζει
2 τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. ὡς δὲ πληξά-
μενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας "Φεῦ τοῦ
Περσῶν" ἔφη "δαίμονος, εἰ τὴν βασιλέως γυναῖ-
κα καὶ ἀδελφὴν οὐ μόνον αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι

though he would not do this, he sent them the amount of the fine from his own purse. Furthermore, when Lycon of Scarpheia, who was acting successfully before Alexander, inserted into the comedy a verse containing a request for ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.[1]

When Dareius sent to him a letter and friends,[2] begging him to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for the captives, to hold all the territory this side of the Euphrates, to take one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms to be his ally and friend, Alexander imparted the matter to his companions. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept these terms." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "were I Parmenio." But to Dareius he wrote: "Come to me, and thou shalt receive every courtesy; but otherwise I shall march at once against thee."[3]

XXX. Soon, however, he repented him of this answer, when the wife of Dareius died in childbirth, and it was evident that he was distressed at this loss of opportunity to show great kindness. Accordingly, he gave the woman a sumptuous burial. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber who had been captured with the women, Teireos by name, ran away from the camp, made his way on horseback to Dareius, and told him of the death of his wife. Then the king, beating upon his head and bursting into lamentation, said: "Alas for the evil genius of the Persians, if the sister and wife of their king

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[1] Cf. *Morals*, pp. 334 f.

[2] This was during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian (*Anab.* ii. 25. 1).

[3] This was but the conclusion of an arrogant letter. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 25, 3.

ζῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἄμοιρον κεῖσθαι
ταφῆς βασιλικῆς," ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θαλαμηπόλος,
"Ἀλλὰ ταφῆς γε χάριν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ,
καὶ τιμῆς ἁπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις
3 αἰτιάσασθαι τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὔτε
γὰρ ζώσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατείρᾳ καὶ μητρὶ σῇ καὶ
τέκνοις ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ
τὸ σὸν ὁρᾶν φῶς, ὃ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν
ὁ κύριος Ὠρομάσδης, οὔτε ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου
τινὸς ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων τετίμηται
δάκρυσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἔστι χρηστὸς κρατήσας
Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς δεινὸς μαχόμενος."

4 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Δαρεῖον ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ
πάθος ἐξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους· καὶ τὸν
εὐνοῦχον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγών, "Εἰ
μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν," ἔφη, "τύχης μακεδονίζεις,
ἀλλ' ἔτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος, εἰπέ
μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου τε φῶς μέγα καὶ δεξιὰν
βασίλειον, ἆρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατείρας
κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα δὲ ζώσης ἐπάσχομεν,
καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὠμῷ καὶ
σκυθρωπῷ περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῷ; τί γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς
ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναῖκα μέχρι[1] τιμῆς
5 τοσαύτης συμβόλαιον;" ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ
καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τείρεως αὐτὸν ἱκέτευεν
εὐφημεῖν καὶ μήτε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀδικεῖν
μήτε τὴν τεθνεῶσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα καταισχῦναι,
μήτε αὑτοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ὧν ἔπταικεν

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[1] μέχρι Coraës and Bekker: καὶ μέχρι.

must not only become a captive in her life, but also in her death be deprived of royal burial." "Nay, O King," answered the chamberlain, "as regards her burial, and her receiving every fitting honour, thou hast no charge to make against the evil genius of the Persians. For neither did my mistress Stateira, while she lived, or thy mother or thy children, lack any of their former great blessings except the light of thy countenance, which Lord Oromazdes will cause to shine again with lustre; nor after her death was she deprived of any funeral adornment, nay, she was honoured with the tears of enemies. For Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in battle."

When Dareius heard this, his agitation and grief swept him into absurd suspicions, and leading the eunuch away into a more secluded part of his tent, he said: "If thou also, together with the fortune of the Persians, dost not side with the Macedonians, and if I, Dareius, am still thy lord and master, tell me, as thou reverest the great light of Mithras and the right hand of thy king, is it not the least of Stateira's misfortunes that I am now lamenting? While she was alive did I not suffer more pitiful evils? And would not my wretched fortune have been more compatible with my honour if I had met with an angry and savage enemy? For what intercourse that is proper can a young man have with an enemy's wife when it leads to such marks of honour?" While the king was still speaking, Teireos threw himself down at his feet and besought him to hold his peace, and neither to wrong Alexander, nor shame his dead sister and wife, nor rob himself of the greatest consolation for his disasters,

ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθίαν, τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
ἡττῆσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς πλείονα
ταῖς Περσῶν γυναιξὶ σωφροσύνην ἢ Πέρσαις
6 ἀνδρείαν ἐπιδεδειγμένον. ἅμα δὲ ὅρκους τε φρικώδεις
τοῦ θαλαμηπόλου κινοῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων,
καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας
τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς
ἑταίρους ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἐπεύξατο· "Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασίλειοι,
μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ διδοίητε τὴν Περσῶν τύχην εἰς
ὀρθὸν αὖθις σταθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐδεξάμην ἀγαθοῖς
ἀπολιπεῖν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου
χάριτας ὧν εἰς τὰ φίλτατα πταίσας ἔτυχον·
7 εἰ δ' ἄρα τις οὗτος εἱμαρτὸς ἥκει χρόνος, ὀφειλόμενος
νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ, παύσασθαι τὰ Περσῶν,
μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων καθίσειεν εἰς τὸν
Κύρου θρόνον πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου." ταῦτα μὲν
οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθῆναί φασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι
τῶν συγγραφέων.

XXXI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου
πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ
Δαρεῖον ἑκατὸν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα.
καί τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν ἑταίρων, ὡς δὴ γέλωτος
ἄξιον πρᾶγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παίζοντας εἰς
δύο μέρη διῃρηκέναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὧν ἑκατέρου
στρατηγὸν εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον,
τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευόμενον·
2 ἀρξαμένους δὲ βώλοις ἀκροβολίζεσθαι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἶτα πυγμαῖς, τέλος ἐκκεκαῦσθαι
τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ καὶ μέχρι λίθων καὶ ξύλων, πολ-

namely, the belief that he had been conquered by a man who was superior to human nature; nay, he should even admire Alexander for having shown greater self-restraint in dealing with Persian women than valour against Persian men. Then, while the eunuch was confirming his testimony with the most solemn oaths, and discoursing on the general self-mastery and magnanimity of Alexander, Dareius went out to his companions, and lifting his hands towards heaven, prayed: "O ye gods of my race and kingdom, above all things else grant that I may leave the fortune of Persia reëstablished in the prosperity wherein I found it, in order that my victory may enable me to requite Alexander for the favours which I received at his hands when I had lost my dearest possessions; but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to divine jealousy and the vicissitudes of things, and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander." That these things were thus done and said is the testimony of most historians.[1]

XXXI. But to return to Alexander, when he had subdued all the country on this side of the Euphrates, he marched against Dareius,[2] who was coming down to meet him with a million men. On this march one of his companions told him, as a matter worth laughing at, that the camp-followers, in sport, had divided themselves into two bands, and set a general and commander over each of them, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Dareius; and that they had begun by pelting one another with clods of earth, then had fought with their fists, and finally, heated with the desire of battle, had taken

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 20.

[2] In June or July of 331 B.C.

λοὺς καὶ δυσκαταπαύστους γεγονότας. ταῦτα 6
ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μονομαχῆσαι τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὥπλισε,
τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον Φιλώτας. ἐθεᾶτο δὲ ὁ στρατός,
ἐν οἰωνῷ τινι τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γιγνόμενον.
ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν
ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε
δώδεκα κώμας καὶ στολῇ Περσικῇ χρῆσθαι.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ἱστόρηκε.

3 Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἐν
Ἀρβήλοις, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν
Γαυγαμήλοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνειν δέ
φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν
πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγὼν πολεμίους ἐπὶ
καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίδρυσεν αὐτήν,
ἀποτάξας τινὰς κώμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν
4 ἐπιμέλειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος
ἐξέλιπε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν
ἀρχήν, ἑνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ
τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν ὄψει γεγονότων, Δαρεῖος μὲν
ἐν ὅπλοις συνεῖχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς τάξεις, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυομένων αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς
μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν,
ἱερουργίας τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ἱερουργούμενος καὶ
5 τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι
τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ μάλιστα Παρμενίων, ὡς τὸ μὲν
πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν
τῶν Γορδυαίων ἅπαν ἑωρᾶτο καταλαμπόμενον
τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δέ τις
φωνὴ συμμεμιγμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-

to stones and sticks, being now many and hard to quell. When he heard this, Alexander ordered the leaders themselves to fight in single combat; to the one called Alexander he himself gave armour, and to the one called Dareius, Philotas. The army were spectators of the combat, counting the issue as in some measure an omen of the future. After a strenuous battle, the one called Alexander was victorious, and received as a reward twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress. This, at any rate, is what we are told by Eratosthenes.

Now, the great battle against Dareius was not fought at Arbela, as most writers state, but at Gaugamela.[1] The word signifies, we are told, "camel's house," since one of the ancient kings of the country, after escaping from his enemies on a swift camel, gave the animal a home here, assigning certain villages and revenues for its maintenance. It so happened that in the month Boëdromion the moon suffered an eclipse,[2] about the beginning of the Mysteries at Athens, and on the eleventh night after the eclipse, the armies being now in sight of one another, Dareius kept his forces under arms, and held a review of them by torch-light; but Alexander, while his Macedonians slept, himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacrificing to the god Fear. Meanwhile the older of his companions, and particularly Parmenio, when they saw the plain between the Niphates and the Gordyaean mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, while an indistinguishably mingled and tumultuous sound of voices arose from their camp as

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 8, 7.

[2] September 20, 331 B.C.

πέδου καθάπερ ἐξ ἀχανοῦς προσήχει πελάγους,
6 θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
διαλεχθέντες ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἴη
συμπεσόντας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσοῦτον ὤσασθαι
πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
προσελθόντες ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι νύκτωρ
τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερώτατον
7 συγκαλύψαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος. ὁ δὲ τὸ
μνημονευόμενον εἰπών, "Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην,"
ἐνίοις μὲν ἔδοξε μειρακιώδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπόκρισιν
πεποιῆσθαι, παίζων πρὸς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον,
ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι
τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς, μὴ διδοὺς πρόφασιν ἡττηθέντι
Δαρείῳ πρὸς ἄλλην αὖθις ἀναθαρρῆσαι
πεῖραν, αἰτιωμένῳ τούτων νύκτα καὶ σκότος,
ὡς ὄρη καὶ στενὰ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων.
8 οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων οὐδὲ σωμάτων ἀπορίᾳ παύσεσθαι
πολεμοῦντα Δαρεῖον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως
καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀφῇ τὸ φρόνημα
καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἐμφανοῦς ἥττης κατὰ κράτος
ἐξελεγχθείς.

XXXII. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τούτων κατακλιθεὶς ὑπὸ σκηνὴν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόντας ὄρθρου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἔπειτα τοῦ καιροῦ κατεπείγοντος εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα καὶ παραστάντα τῇ κλίνῃ δὶς ἢ τρὶς αὐτοῦ φθέγξασθαι τοὔνομα· καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως ἐρωτᾶν

if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multitude and argued with one another that it was a great and grievous task to repel such a tide of war by engaging in broad day-light. They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal my victory"; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Dareius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage again for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.[1] For Dareius would not give up the war for lack of arms or men when he could draw from so great a host and so vast a territory, but only when he had lost courage and hope, under the conviction brought by a downright defeat in broad day-light.

XXXII. After the men were gone, Alexander lay down in his tent, and is said to have passed the rest of the night in a deeper sleep than usual, so that when his officers came to him in the early morning they were amazed, and on their own authority issued orders that the soldiers should first take breakfast. Then, since the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered the tent, and standing by his couch called Alexander twice or thrice by name; and when he

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 10, where it is Parmenio who advises a night attack.

ὅ τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὕπνον καθεύδοι νενικηκότος,
οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν
2 ἀγώνων. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν διαμειδιάσαντα·
“Τί γάρ; οὐκ ἤδη σοι νενικηκέναι δοκοῦμεν
ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν
ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρᾳ
Δαρεῖον;” οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ
συνεστηκότα τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτόν.
3 ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑποτροπὴν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ
εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτριανῆς
ἵππου ῥόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμπεσούσης
εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαζαίου δὲ
περιπέμψαντος ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἱππεῖς τοῖς
σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ θορυβούμενος 684
ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε
πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους φράζοντας οἴχεσθαι
τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος
βοήθειαν ὀχυρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πέμψειε τοῖς
4 ὄπισθεν. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῖς
περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφόδου διδοὺς σημεῖον· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε
τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἔφη σωφρονεῖν
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλελῆσθαι
ταραττόμενον ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκτήσονται
καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡττωμένοις δὲ
φροντιστέον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδὲ ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλ'
ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

5 Ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίωνι τὸ κράνος περιέθετο,
τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὁπλισμὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς

had thus roused him, he asked him how he could possibly sleep as if he were victorious, instead of being about to fight the greatest of all his battles. Then Alexander said with a smile: "What, pray? Dost thou not think that we are already victorious, now that we are relieved from wandering about in a vast and desolated country in pursuit of a Dareius who avoids a battle?" And not only before the battle, but also in the very thick of the struggle did he show himself great, and firm in his confident calculations. For in the battle the left wing under Parmenio was thrown back and in distress, when the Bactrian cavalry fell upon the Macedonians with great impetuosity and violence, and when Mazaeus sent horsemen round outside the line of battle to attack those who were guarding the Macedonian baggage. Therefore, too, Parmenio, much disturbed by both occurrences, sent messengers to Alexander telling him that camp and baggage were gone, unless he speedily sent strong reinforcements from front to rear.[1] Now, it chanced that at that instant Alexander was about to give the signal for the onset to those under his command; but when he heard Parmenio's message, he declared that Parmenio was beside himself and had lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his distress that victors add the baggage of the enemy to their own, and that those who are vanquished must not think about their wealth or their slaves, but only how they may fight gloriously and die with honour.

After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 15, 1, where Parmenio's message recalls Alexander from the pursuit of Dareius.

εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστόν, ἐπὶ δὲ
τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων
ἐν Ἰσσῷ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἔστιλβε
δὲ ὥσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοφίλου,
συνήρμοστο δὲ αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδηροῦν,
6 λιθοκόλλητον· μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστὴν
βαφῇ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων
βασιλέως, εἶχεν, ἠσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι
μαχαίρᾳ παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρπωμα δὲ ἐφόρει
τῇ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον
ὁπλισμόν· ἦν γὰρ ἔργον Ἑλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ,
τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίων πόλεως, ὑφ᾿ ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον·
7 ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἄχρι
μὲν οὖν συντάττων τι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ παρακελευόμενος
ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν,
ἄλλον ἵππον εἶχε, τοῦ Βουκεφάλα φειδόμενος ἤδη
παρήλικος ὄντος· χωροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκεῖνος
προσήγετο, καὶ μεταβὰς εὐθὺς ἦρχεν ἐφόδου.

XXXIII. Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῖστα
διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐπέρρωσαν
αὐτὸν βοῶντες ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ
ξυστὸν εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταβαλὼν τῇ δεξιᾷ
παρεκάλει τοὺς θεούς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν,
ἐπευχόμενος, εἴπερ ὄντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονώς,
2 ἀμῦναι καὶ συνεπιρρῶσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ δὲ
μάντις Ἀρίστανδρος χλανίδα λευκὴν ἔχων καὶ
χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπεδείκνυτο παριππεύων ἀετὸν

he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citieans, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him; this also he was wont to wear in his battles. As long, then, as he was riding about and marshalling some part of his phalanx, or exhorting or instructing or reviewing his men, he spared Bucephalas, who was now past his prime, and used another horse; but whenever he was going into action, Bucephalas would be led up, and he would mount him and at once begin the attack.

XXXIII. On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks,[1] and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to

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[1] Sometimes the term "Hellenes" excludes, and sometimes it includes, the Macedonians. The context must decide. Cf. xlvii. 5.

ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου *συνεπαιωρούμενον καὶ κατευθύνοντα τῇ πτήσει ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥστε πολὺ μὲν θάρσος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἱεμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς*
3 *πολεμίους ἐπικυμαίνειν τὴν φάλαγγα. πρὶν δὲ συμμῖξαι τοὺς πρώτους ἐξέκλιναν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ διωγμὸς ἦν πολύς, εἰς τὰ μέσα συνελαύνοντος* Ἀλεξάνδρου *τὸ νικώμενον, ὅπου Δαρεῖος ἦν. πόρρωθεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατεῖδε διὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων ἐν βάθει τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης ἐκφανέντα, καλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἐφ' ἅρματος ὑψηλοῦ βεβῶτα, πολλοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ λαμπροῖς καταπεφραγμένον εὖ μάλα συνεσπειραμένοις περὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ παρατεταγμένοις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολε-*
4 *μίους. ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ὀφθεὶς ἐγγύθεν* Ἀλέξανδρος *καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς μένοντας ἐξέπληξε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ πλεῖστον. οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ γενναιότατοι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φονευόμενοι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πίπτοντες ἐμποδὼν τῆς διώξεως ἦσαν, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περισπαίροντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποις.*

5 *Δαρεῖος δέ, τῶν δεινῶν ἁπάντων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντων καὶ τῶν προτεταγμένων δυνάμεων ἐρειπομένων εἰς αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἀποστρέψαι τὸ ἅρμα καὶ διεξελάσαι ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλ' οἵ τε τροχοὶ συνείχοντο πτώμασι πεφυρμένοι τοσούτοις οἵ τε ἵπποι κατα-*

them an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood. But before the foremost ranks were engaged the Barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued, Alexander driving the conquered foe towards the centre of their array, where Dareius was.[1] For from afar he was seen by Alexander through the deep ranks of the royal squadron of horse drawn up in front of him, towering conspicuous, a fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, fenced about by a numerous and brilliant array of horsemen, who were densely massed around the chariot and drawn up to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander close at hand and terrible, and driving those who fled before him upon those who held their ground, they were smitten with fear and scattered, for the most part. The bravest and noblest of them, however, slain in front of their king and falling in heaps upon one another, obstructed the Macedonians in their pursuit, weaving and twining themselves in their last agonies about riders and horses.

But Dareius, now that all the terrors of the struggle were before his eyes, and now that the forces drawn up to protect him were crowded back upon him, since it was not an easy matter to turn his chariot about and drive it away, seeing that the wheels were obstructed and entangled in the great numbers of the fallen, while the horses, surrounded and hidden

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[1] Alexander's tactics are minutely described by Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 14, 1–3).

λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν
νεκρῶν ἐξήλλοντο καὶ συνετάραττον τὸν ἡνίοχον,
ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, θήλειαν δέ, 68
6 ὥς φασι, νεοτόκον ἵππον περιβὰς ἔφυγεν. οὐ μὴν
τότε ἂν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἧκον ἕτεροι
παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἱππεῖς μετακαλοῦντες
Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς συνεστώσης ἔτι πολλῆς δυνάμεως
ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐνδιδόντων. ὅλως γὰρ
αἰτιῶνται Παρμενίωνα κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην
νωθρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ δύσεργον, εἴτε τοῦ γήρως
ἤδη τι παραλύοντος τῆς τόλμης, εἴτε τὴν ἐξουσίαν
καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
δυνάμεως βαρυνόμενον καὶ προσφθονοῦντα.
7 τότε δ᾽ οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιαθεὶς τῇ
μεταπέμψει τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις οὐκ ἔφρασε τὸ
ἀληθές, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀνέχων τοῦ φονεύειν καὶ σκότους
ὄντος ἀνάκλησιν ἐσήμανεν· ἐλαύνων δὲ πρὸς τὸ
κινδυνεῦον μέρος ἤκουσε καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἡττῆσθαι
παντάπασι καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXXIV. Τοῦτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβούσης τὸ πέρας, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ παντάπασιν ἡ Περσῶν ἐδόκει καταλελύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδωρεῖτο πλούτους καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἡγεμονίας. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας καταλυθῆναι καὶ πολιτεύειν αὐτονόμους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Πλαταιεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς

away by the multitude of dead bodies, were rearing up and frightening the charioteer, forsook his chariot and his armour, mounted a mare which, as they say, had newly foaled, and took to flight. However, it is thought that he would not then have made his escape, had not fresh horsemen come from Parmenio[1] summoning Alexander to his aid, on the ground that a large force of the enemy still held together there and would not give ground. For there is general complaint that in that battle Parmenio was sluggish and inefficient, either because old age was now impairing somewhat his courage, or because he was made envious and resentful by the arrogance and pomp, to use the words of Callisthenes, of Alexander's power. At the time, then, although he was annoyed by the summons, the king did not tell his soldiers the truth about it, but on the ground that it was dark and he would therefore remit further slaughter, sounded a recall; and as he rode towards the endangered portion of his army, he heard by the way that the enemy had been utterly defeated and was in flight.

XXXIV. The battle having had this issue, the empire of the Persians was thought to be utterly dissolved, and Alexander, proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces. And being desirous of honour among the Greeks, he wrote them that all their tyrannies were abolished and they might live under their own laws; moreover, he wrote the Plataeans specially that he would rebuild their city, because their ancestors had furnished their

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[1] Arrian makes no mention of a second appeal for aid from Parmenio.

2 Ἕλλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἔπεμψε
δὲ καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἰταλίαν μέρος τῶν
λαφύρων, τὴν Φαΰλλου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν
καὶ ἀρετήν, ὃς περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἰδιόστολον
ἔχων ναῦν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, τοῦ κινδύνου
τι μεθέξων. οὕτω τις εὐμενὴς ἦν πρὸς
ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ
οἰκεῖος.

XXXV. Ἐπιὼν δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἅπασαν
εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τό
τε χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς
ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα λιμνάζοντος
διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος, ὃς
τἆλλα μὲν ἀσφάλτῳ προσέοικεν, οὕτω δὲ εὐπαθὴς
πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστιν ὥστε, πρὶν ἢ θιγεῖν τὴν φλόγα,
δι' αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξαπτόμενος αὐγῆς τὸν
2 μεταξὺ πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύμενοι
δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι
τὸν ἄγοντα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως
στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῷ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν·
εἶτα στάντες ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτῆρας τοῖς
βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκαν· ἤδη γὰρ συνεσκόταζε.
τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθὺς ἁψαμένων οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ νομὴ
χρόνον αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ' ἅμα νοήματι διῖκτο πρὸς
θάτερον πέρας καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγόνει συνεχὲς ὁ στενωπός.
3 ἦν δέ τις Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν
περὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν εἰωθότων τὸ σῶμα
θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμμελῶς
ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥᾴθυμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ
λουτρῶνι τότε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρε-

territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom.[1] He sent also to the people of Croton in Italy a portion of the spoils, honouring the zeal and valour of their athlete Phaÿllus, who, in the Median wars, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy refused to help their brother Greeks, fitted out a ship at his own cost and sailed with it to Salamis, that he might have some share in the peril there.[2] So considerate was Alexander towards every form of valour, and such a friend and guardian of noble deeds.

XXXV. As he traversed all Babylonia, which at once submitted to him, he was most of all amazed at the chasm from which fire continually streamed forth as from a spring, and at the stream of naphtha, so abundant as to form a lake, not far from the chasm. This naphtha is in other ways like asphaltum, but is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and often sets fire also to the intervening air. To show its nature and power, the Barbarians sprinkled the street leading to Alexander's quarters with small quantities of the liquid; then, standing at the farther end of the street, they applied their torches to the moistened spots; for it was now getting dark. The first spots at once caught fire, and without an appreciable interval of time, but with the speed of thought, the flame darted to the other end, and the street was one continuous fire. Now, there was a certain Athenophanes, an Athenian, one of those who were accustomed to minister to the person of the king when he bathed and anointed himself, and to furnish suitable diversion for his thoughts. This man, one time when there was standing by Alexander

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[1] In 479 B.C.

[2] Cf. Herodotus, viii. 47.

στῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοίου τὴν ὄψιν,
ᾄδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, "Βούλει,"
φησίν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ
τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἂν γὰρ ἅψηται τούτου
καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῇ, παντάπασιν ἂν φαίην ἄμαχον
4 καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι." προθύμως
δέ πως καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου διδόντος ἑαυτὸν
πρὸς τὴν πεῖραν, ἅμα τῷ περιαλεῖψαι καὶ θιγεῖν
ἐξήνθησε φλόγα τοσαύτην τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὶ
κατεσχέθη τὸ πᾶν ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πᾶν
ἀπορίας καὶ δέους ἐλθεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τύχην
πολλοὶ παρῆσαν ἀγγεῖα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ὕδατος
διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἂν ἔφθασεν ἡ βοήθεια
5 τὴν ἐπινομήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μόγις κατέσβεσαν 68
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι' ὅλου πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

Εἰκότως οὖν ἔνιοι τὸν μῦθον ἀνασῴζοντες πρὸς
τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦτό φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας
φάρμακον, ᾧ τὸν τραγῳδούμενον στέφανον καὶ
τὸν πέπλον ἔχρισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
οὐδὲ ἀπ' αὐτομάτου λάμψαι τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλογὸς
ἐγγύθεν παρατεθείσης ὀξεῖαν ὁλκὴν καὶ συναφὴν
6 ἄδηλον αἰσθήσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτῖνας
καὶ τὰ ῥεύματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἄπωθεν ἐπερχόμενα
τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι φῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσβάλλειν
μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξηρότητα πνευματικὴν
ἢ νοτίδα λιπαρὰν καὶ διαρκῆ κεκτημένοις ἀθροιζόμενα
καὶ πυριμανοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξέως τὴν
ὕλην. παρεῖχε δὲ ἀπορίαν ἡ γένεσις . . . εἴτε

in the bath-room a youth who had a ridiculously plain countenance, but was a graceful singer (his name was Stephanus), said, "Wilt thou, O King, that we make a trial of the liquid upon Stephanus? For if it should lay hold of him and not be extinguished, I would certainly say that its power was invincible and terrible." The youth also, strangely enough, offered himself for the experiment, and as soon as he touched the liquid and began to anoint himself with it, his body broke out into so great a flame and was so wholly possessed by fire that Alexander fell into extreme perplexity and fear; and had it not been by chance that many were standing by holding vessels of water for the bath, the youth would have been consumed before aid reached him. Even as it was, they had great difficulty in putting out the fire, for it covered the boy's whole body, and after they had done so, he was in a sorry plight.

It is natural, then, that some who wish to bring fable into conformity with truth should say that this naphtha is the drug which Medeia used, when, in the tragedies, she anoints the crown and the robe. For it was not from these objects themselves, they say, nor of its own accord, that the fire shot up, but a flame was placed near them, which was then so swiftly drawn into conjunction with them that the senses could not take cognisance of it. For the rays and emanations of fire which come from a distance impart to some bodies merely light and warmth; but in those which are dry and porous, or which have sufficiently rich moisture, they collect themselves together, break into fierce flame, and transform the material. There has been much discussion about

μᾶλλον ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς φλογὸς ὑπορρεῖ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύσιν λιπαρὰν καὶ πυριγόνον ἐχούσης.
7 καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Βαβυλωνία σφόδρα πυρώδης, ὥστε τὰς μὲν κριθὰς χαμόθεν ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀποπάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, οἷον ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἐχόντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπ' ἀσκῶν πεπληρωμένων ὕδατος
8 καθεύδειν. Ἅρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτείαις διακοσμῆσαι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε, τὸν δὲ κιττὸν οὐκ ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ φέροντα τὴν κρᾶσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πυρώδης, ὁ δὲ φιλόψυχρος. τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιούτων παρεκβάσεων, ἂν μέτρον ἔχωσιν, ἧττον ἴσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατηγορήσουσιν.

XXXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Σούσων κυριεύσας παρέλαβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τετρακισμύρια τάλαντα νομίσματος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀδιήγητον. ὅπου φασὶ καὶ πορφύρας Ἑρμιονικῆς εὑρεθῆναι τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, συγκειμένης μὲν ἐξ ἐτῶν δέκα δεόντων διακοσίων, πρόσφατον δὲ τὸ ἄνθος ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν
2 φυλαττούσης. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ τὴν βαφὴν διὰ μέλιτος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἁλουργῶν, δι' ἐλαίου δὲ λευκοῦ τῶν λευκῶν· καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἐχόντων τὴν λαμπρότητα καθαρὰν καὶ στίλβουσαν ὁρᾶσθαι. Δείνων δέ φησι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπό τε τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου

the origin of[1] . . . . or whether rather the liquid substance that feeds the flame flows out from a soil which is rich and productive of fire. For the soil of Babylonia is very fiery, so that grains of barley often leap out of the ground and bound away, as if its inflammation made the ground throb; and the inhabitants, during the hot season, sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalus, moreover, when he was left as overseer of the country and was eager to adorn the royal gardens and walks with Hellenic plants, succeeded with all except ivy; this the soil would not support, but always killed it. The plant could not endure the temper of the soil, for the soil was fiery, while the plant was fond of coolness. However, if such digressions are kept within bounds, perhaps my impatient readers will find less fault with them.

XXXVI. On making himself master of Susa, Alexander came into possession of forty thousand talents of coined money in the palace, and of untold furniture and wealth besides.[2] Among this they say was found five thousand talents' weight of purple from Hermione, which, although it had been stored there for a hundred and ninety years, still kept its colours fresh and lively. The reason for this, they say, is that honey was used in the purple dyes, and white olive oil in the white dyes; for these substances, after the like space of time, are seen to have a brilliancy that is pure and lustrous. Moreover, Deinon says that the Persian kings had water also brought from the Nile and the Danube and stored

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[1] "This naphtha," and the first "whether"-clause, have fallen out of the text.

[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 16, 7. A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἷον ἐκβεβαιουμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἁπάντων.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ Περσίδος οὔσης διὰ τραχύτητα
δυσεμβόλου καὶ φυλαττομένης ὑπὸ γενναιοτάτων
Περσῶν (Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεφεύγει)
γίγνεταί τινος περιόδου κύκλον ἐχούσης οὐ πολὺν
ἡγεμὼν αὐτῷ δίγλωσσος ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ πατρὸς
Λυκίου, μητρὸς δὲ Περσίδος γεγονώς· ὅν φασιν,
ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν,
ὡς λύκος ἔσται καθηγεμὼν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
2 ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας. φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα
πολὺν τῶν ἁλισκομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει
γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς νομίζων αὐτῷ τοῦτο λυσιτελεῖν
ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· νομίσματος
δὲ εὑρεῖν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σούσοις, τὴν δὲ
ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναί
φασι μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς ζεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις
καμήλοις.

3 Ξέρξου δὲ ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ὠθουμένων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πλημμελῶς ἀνατετραμμένον ἐπέστη, καὶ καθάπερ ἔμψυχον προσαγορεύσας, "Πότερόν σε," εἶπε, "διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείαν κείμενον παρέλθωμεν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐγείρωμεν;" τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σιωπήσας παρῆλθε. βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν

up among their treasures, as a sort of confirmation of the greatness of their empire and the universality of their sway.

XXXVII. Persis was difficult of access, owing to the roughness of the country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians (for Dareius had taken to flight); but Alexander found a guide to conduct him thither by a circuit of no great extent. The man spoke two languages, since his father was a Lycian and his mother a Persian; and it was he, they say, whom the Pythian priestess had in mind when she prophesied, Alexander being yet a boy, that a "lycus," or *wolf*, would be Alexander's guide on his march against the Persians.[1] In this country, then, as it turned out, there was a great slaughter of the prisoners taken; for Alexander himself writes that he gave orders to have the inhabitants butchered, thinking that this would be to his advantage; and they say that as much coined money was found there[2] as at Susa, and that it took ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels to carry away the other furniture and wealth there.

On beholding a great statue of Xerxes which had been carelessly overthrown by a throng that forced its way into the palace, Alexander stopped before it, and accosting it as if it had been alive, said: "Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there, because of thine expedition against the Hellenes, or, because of thy magnanimity and virtue in other ways, shall I set thee up again?" But finally, after communing with himself a long time in silence, he passed on. Wishing to refresh his soldiers (for it was winter

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[1] Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 18, 1f.) speaks only of a forced march through the mountains.

[2] In Persepolis.

χειμῶνος ὥρα) τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε.
4 λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν 687
χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ τὸν
Κορίνθιον Δημάρατον εὔνουν ὄντα ἄνδρα καὶ
πατρῷον φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβυτικῶς ἐπιδακρῦσαι,
καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς μεγάλης ἡδονῆς στεροῖντο
τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον
ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

XXXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἐξελαύνειν ἐπὶ
Δαρεῖον ἔτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰν
τοῖς ἑταίροις ἑαυτὸν δεδωκώς, ὥστε καὶ γύναια
συμπίνειν ἐπὶ κῶμον ἥκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστάς.
ἐν δὲ τούτοις εὐδοκιμοῦσα μάλιστα Θαΐς ἡ Πτολεμαίου
τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὕστερον ἑταίρα, γένος
Ἀττική, τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινοῦσα, τὰ δὲ παίζουσα
πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἅμα τῇ μέθῃ λόγον
εἰπεῖν προήχθη τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἤθει
2 πρέποντα, μείζονα δὲ ἢ κατ᾽ αὐτήν. ἔφη γὰρ ὧν
πεπόνηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν
χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις
Περσῶν βασιλείοις· ἔτι δ᾽ ἂν ἥδιον ὑποπρῆσαι
κωμάσασα τὸν Ξέρξου τοῦ κατακαύσαντος
τὰς Ἀθήνας οἶκον, αὐτὴ τὸ πῦρ ἅψασα
τοῦ βασιλέως ὁρῶντος, ὡς ἂν λόγος ἔχῃ πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων
ἐκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γύναια
μείζονα δίκην ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς
3 Ἑλλάδος. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θορύβου
γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ

time), he spent four months in that place. And it is said that when he took his seat for the first time under the golden canopy on the royal throne, Demaratus the Corinthian, a well-meaning man and a friend of Alexander's, as he had been of Alexander's father, burst into tears, as old men will, and declared that those Hellenes were deprived of great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.

XXXVIII. After this, as he was about to march forth against Dareius, it chanced that he consented to take part in a merry drinking bout of his companions, at which women also came to meet their lovers and shared in their wine and revelry. The most famous among these women was Thaïs, an Athenian, the mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards king. She, partly in graceful praise of Alexander, and partly to make sport for him, as the drinking went on, was moved to utter a speech which befitted the character of her native country, but was too lofty for one of her kind. She said, namely, that for all her hardships in wandering over Asia she was being requited that day by thus revelling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Persians; but it would be a still greater pleasure to go in revel rout and set fire to the house of the Xerxes who burned Athens, she herself kindling the fire under the eyes of Alexander, in order that a tradition might prevail among men that the women in the train of Alexander inflicted a greater punishment upon the Persians in behalf of Hellas than all her famous commanders by sea and land. As soon as she had thus spoken, tumultuous applause arose, and the companions of the king eagerly urged him on,

φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπηδήσας
4 ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν. οἱ
δὲ ἑπόμενοι κώμῳ καὶ βοῇ περιΐσταντο τὰ βασίλεια,
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι
συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἤλπιζον
γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἐστι τὸν νοῦν καὶ
μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκεῖν τὸ πιμπράναι
τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διαφθείρειν. οἱ μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα
γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γνώμης· ὅτι δ' οὖν
μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν
ὁμολογεῖται.

XXXIX. Φύσει δὲ ὢν μεγαλοδωρότατος ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐξομένων·
καὶ προσῆν ἡ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ' ἧς
μόνης ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μνησθήσομαι
δὲ ὀλίγων. Ἀρίστων ὁ τῶν Παιόνων
ἡγούμενος ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, "Τοῦτο," εἶπεν,
"ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶται
2 τὸ δῶρον." ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας,
"Κενοῦ γε," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου
προπίομαι." τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων
ἤλαυνεν ἡμίονον βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κομίζοντα·
κάμνοντος δὲ τοῦ κτήνους αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκόμιζε
τὸ φορτίον. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς θλιβόμενον
αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, μέλλοντος
κατατίθεσθαι, "Μὴ κάμῃς," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ

so that he yielded to their desires, and leaping to his feet, with a garland on his head and a torch in his hand, led them the way. The company followed with shouts and revelry and surrounded the palace, while the rest of the Macedonians who learned about it ran thither with torches and were full of joy. For they hoped that the burning and destruction of the palace was the act of one who had fixed his thoughts on home, and did not intend to dwell among Barbarians. This is the way the deed was done, according to some writers; but others say it was premeditated.[1] However, it is agreed that Alexander speedily repented and gave orders to put out the fire.

XXXIX. Alexander was naturally munificent, and became still more so as his wealth increased. His gifts, too, were accompanied by a kindly spirit, with which alone, to tell the truth, a giver confers a favour. I will mention a few instances. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: "In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker." "Yes," said Alexander with a laugh, "an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine." Again, a common Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the royal gold, and when the beast gave out, took the load on his own shoulders and tried to carry it. The king, then, seeing the man in great distress and learning the facts of the case, said, as the man was about to lay his burden down, "Don't give out,

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[1] So Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 18. 11 f., where there is none of Plutarch's romance. For this, cf. Diodorus, xvii. 72; Curtius, v. 7, 1–7.

πρόσθες ἔτι τὴν λοιπὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἑαυτῷ[1]
3 τοῦτο κομίσας." ὅλως δὲ ἤχθετο τοῖς μὴ
λαμβάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι. καὶ Φωκίωνι
μὲν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ χρησόμενος
αὐτῷ φίλῳ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ διωθοῖτο τὰς χάριτας.
Σεραπίωνι δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαίρας τινὶ νεανίσκων
οὐδὲν ἐδίδου διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ
σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίων ἄλλοις
ἔβαλλε τὴν σφαῖραν, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως,
"Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ δίδως;" "Οὐ γὰρ αἰτεῖς," εἶπε,
4 τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ ἔδωκε. Πρωτέᾳ δέ
τινι τῶν περὶ σκώμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμούσων
ἔδοξε δι' ὀργῆς γεγονέναι· τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων
κἀκείνου δακρύοντος ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι· κἀκεῖνος,
"Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δός τί μοι
πιστὸν πρῶτον." ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τάλαντα
δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς 688
σωματοφύλαξι νεμομένων πλούτων, ἡλίκον εἶχον
ὄγκον, ἐμφαίνει δι' ἐπιστολῆς Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν
5 ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν. "Ἄλλως," φησίν, "εὖ
ποίει τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἄγε· νῦν δ' ἰσοβασιλέας
πάντας ποιεῖς καὶ πολυφιλίας παρασκευάζεις
αὐτοῖς, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐρημοῖς." πολλάκις
δὲ τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γραφούσης ἐφύλαττεν
ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἅπαξ Ἡφαιστίωνος,
ὥσπερ εἰώθει, λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ
συναναγινώσκοντος οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δα-

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[1] ἑαυτῷ Sint., with the best MSS.; Coraës and Bekker have σεαυτῷ. Cf. § 5.

but finish your journey by taking this load to your own tent." Furthermore, he was generally more displeased with those who would not take his gifts than with those who asked for them. And so he wrote to Phocion in a letter that he would not treat him as a friend in future if he rejected his favours. Again, to Serapion, one of the youths who played at ball with him, he used to give nothing because he asked for nothing. Accordingly, whenever Serapion had the ball, he would throw it to others, until the king said: "Won't you give it to me?" "No," said Serapion, "because you don't ask for it," whereat the king burst out laughing and made him many presents. With Proteas, however, a clever wag and boon companion, he appeared to be angry; but when the man's friends begged his forgiveness, as did Proteas himself with tears, the king said that he was his friend again, whereat Proteas said: "In that case, O King, give me something to prove it first." Accordingly, the king ordered that five talents should be given him. What lofty airs his friends and bodyguards were wont to display over the wealth bestowed by him, is plain from a letter which Olympias wrote to him. She says: "I beg thee to find other ways of conferring favours on those thou lovest and holdest in honour; as it is, thou makest them all the equals of kings and providest them with an abundance of friends, whilst thyself thou strippest bare." Olympias often wrote him in like vein, but Alexander kept her writings secret, except once when Hephaestion, as was his wont, read with him a letter which had been opened; the king did not prevent him, but took the ring

κτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν αὑτοῦ προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκεί-
6 νου στόματι τὴν σφραγῖδα. Μαζαίου δὲ τοῦ
μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένου παιδὶ σατρα-
πείαν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μείζονα. παρ-
αιτούμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τότε
μὲν ἦν εἷς Δαρεῖος, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας
Ἀλεξάνδρους." Παρμενίωνι μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγώου
ἔδωκεν οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα,[1] ἐν ᾧ λέγεται χιλίων
ταλάντων εὑρεθῆναι ἱματισμόν. πρὸς δ' Ἀντί-
πατρον ἔγραψε κελεύων ἔχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώ-
7 ματος ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ
μὲν ἐδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ εἴα δὲ πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν· ἐγκαλούσης δὲ
πρᾴως ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. πλὴν ἅπαξ ποτὲ
Ἀντιπάτρου μακρὰν κατ' αὐτῆς γράψαντος ἐπι-
στολὴν ἀναγνοὺς ἀγνοεῖν εἶπεν Ἀντίπατρον ὅτι
μυρίας ἐπιστολὰς ἓν δάκρυον ἀπαλείφει μητρός.

XL. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑώρα παντά-
πασιν ἐκτετρυφηκότας καὶ φορτικοὺς ταῖς διαί-
ταις καὶ πολυτελείαις ὄντας, ὥστε Ἅγνωνα μὲν
τὸν Τήϊον ἀργυροῦς ἐν ταῖς κρηπῖσιν ἥλους
φορεῖν, Λεοννάτῳ δὲ πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ' Αἰ-
γύπτου κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι,
Φιλώτᾳ δὲ πρὸς θήρας σταδίων ἑκατὸν αὐλαίας
γεγονέναι, μύρῳ δὲ χρωμένους ἰέναι πρὸς ἄλειμμα
καὶ λουτρὸν ὅσους οὐδὲ ἐλαίῳ, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ
κατευναστὰς περιαγομένους, ἐπετίμησε πρᾴως
2 καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενος εἰ τοσούτους
ἠγωνισμένοι καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὐ μνη-
μονεύουσιν ὅτι τῶν καταπονηθέντων οἱ καταπονή-

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[1] οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα, Coraës and Bekker: οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται τῶν περὶ Σοῦσα κ.τ.λ.

from his own finger and applied its seal to the lips of Hephaestion. Again, though the son of Mazaeus, the most influential man at the court of Dareius, already had a province, Alexander gave him a second and a larger one. He, however, declined it, saying: "O King, formerly there was one Dareius, but now thou hast made many Alexanders." To Parmenio, moreover, Alexander gave the house of Bagoas at Susa, in which it is said there was found apparel worth a thousand talents. Again, he wrote to Antipater bidding him keep guards about his person, since plots were being laid against him. To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but would not suffer her to meddle in affairs nor interfere in his campaigns; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently. Once, however, after reading a long letter which Antipater had written in denunciation of her, he said Antipater knew not that one tear of a mother effaced ten thousand letters.

XL. He saw that his favourites had grown altogether luxurious, and were vulgar in the extravagance of their ways of living. For instance, Hagnon the Teian used to wear silver nails in his boots; Leonnatus had dust for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt; Philotas had hunting-nets a hundred furlongs long; when they took their exercise and their baths, more of them actually used myrrh than olive oil, and they had in their train rubbers and chamberlains. Alexander therefore chided them in gentle and reasonable fashion. He was amazed, he said, that after they had undergone so many and so great contests they did not remember that those who conquer by toil sleep more sweetly than those who are con-

*σαντες ἥδιον καθεύδουσιν, οὐδὲ ὁρῶσι τοῖς Περσῶν
βίοις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παραβάλλοντες, ὅτι δουλικώτατον
μέν ἐστι τὸ τρυφᾶν, βασιλικώτατον
δὲ τὸ πονεῖν. "Καίτοι πῶς ἄν τις," ἔφη, "δι'
ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύσειεν ἵππον ἢ λόγχην ἀσκήσειεν
ἢ κράνος, ἀπειθικὼς τοῦ φιλτάτου σώματος ἅπτεσθαι
3 τὰς χεῖρας;" "Οὐκ ἴστε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τοῦ
κρατεῖν πέρας ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ μὴ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν τοῖς
κεκρατημένοις;" ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις,
κακοπαθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα
πρεσβευτὴν παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα
καταβάλλοντι μέγαν εἰπεῖν· "Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε,
πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας."
4 τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς
ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος
καὶ τῶν κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι
συνεστῶτος καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθοῦντος, ὧν τὰ
μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.*

XLI. *Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῶν ἅμα
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παροξύνων πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκινδύνευεν·
οἱ δὲ φίλοι διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη
τρυφᾶν βουλόμενοι καὶ σχολάζειν ἐβαρύνοντο τὰς
πλάνας καὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω
προῆλθον εἰς τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν
αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρᾴως ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς
ταῦτα διέκειτο, φάσκων βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ
2 κακῶς ἀκούειν εὖ ποιοῦντα. καίτοι τὰ μικρότατα
τῶν γενομένων τοῖς συνήθεσι παρ' αὐτοῦ
σημεῖα μεγάλης ὑπῆρχεν εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· ὧν
ὀλίγα παραθήσομαι.*

quered by their toil, and did not see, from a comparison of their own lives with those of the Persians, that it is a very servile thing to be luxurious, but a very royal thing to toil. "And yet," said he, "how can a man take care of his own horse or furbish up his spear and helmet, if he is unaccustomed to using his hands on his own dear person? Know ye not," said he, "that the end and object of conquest is to avoid doing the same thing as the conquered?" Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king." This hunting-scene Craterus dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming to his assistance; some of the figures were moulded by Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill-spoken of therefor. And yet in the most trifling attentions which he paid his familiar friends there were marks of great good-will and esteem. I will instance a few of these.

Πευκέστᾳ μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος ὅτι δηχθεὶς
ὑπ' ἄρκτου τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ
ἐδήλωσεν. "'Αλλὰ νῦν γε," φησί, "γράψον πῶς 689
ἔχεις, καὶ μή τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων
3 ἐγκατέλιπον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι." τοῖς δὲ περὶ
Ἡφαιστίωνα διὰ πράξεις τινὰς ἀποῦσιν ἔγραψεν
ὅτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἰχνεύμονα τῷ Περδίκ-
κου δορατίῳ περιπεσὼν Κρατερὸς τοὺς μηροὺς
ἐτρώθη. Πευκέστα δὲ σωθέντος ἔκ τινος ἀσθεν-
είας ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἰατρὸν εὐχαρι-
στῶν. Κρατεροῦ δὲ νοσοῦντος ὄψιν ἰδὼν καθ'
ὕπνον αὐτός τέ τινας θυσίας ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
4 κἀκεῖνον θῦσαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Παυ-
σανίᾳ τῷ ἰατρῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν ἐλλε-
βορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν, τὰ δὲ παραινῶν ὅπως
χρήσεται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρώτους τὴν
Ἁρπάλου φυγὴν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγείλαντας
ἔδησεν, Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσον, ὡς καταψευδο-
5 μένους τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας
αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποστέλλοντος Εὐ-
ρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς
νοσοῦντας, εἶτα φωραθεὶς ἔχων οὐδὲν κακὸν ὡμο-
λόγησε Τελεσίππας ἐρᾶν καὶ συνεπακολουθεῖν
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἠρώτησε τίνων
ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τῶν
ἐλευθέρων ἑταιρῶν, "Ἡμᾶς μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Εὐ-
ρύλοχε, συνερῶντας ἔχεις· ὅρα δὲ ὅπως πείθωμεν
ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ
ἐλευθέρας ἐστί."

He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. "Now, however," said he, "write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them." To Hephaestion, who was absent on some business, he wrote that while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus encountered the lance of Perdiccas and was wounded in the thighs. After Peucestas had safely recovered from an illness, Alexander wrote to the physician, Alexippus, expressing his thanks. While Craterus was sick, Alexander had a vision in his sleep, whereupon he offered certain sacrifices himself for the recovery of his friend, and bade him also sacrifice. He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who wished to administer hellebore to Craterus, partly expressing distress, and partly advising him how to use the medicine. Those who first brought word to him that Harpalus had absconded, namely, Ephialtes and Cissus, he put in fetters, on the ground that they were falsely accusing the man. When he was sending home his aged and infirm soldiers, Eurylochus of Aegae got himself enrolled among the sick, and then, when it was discovered that he had nothing the matter with him, confessed that he was in love with Telesippa, and was bent on following along with her on her journey to the sea-board. Alexander asked of what parentage the girl was, and on hearing that she was a free-born courtezan, said: "I will help you, O Eurylochus, in your amour; but see to it that we try to persuade Telesippa either by arguments or by gifts, since she is free-born."

XLII. Θαυμάσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ μέχρι
τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οἷα
γράφει παῖδα Σελεύκου εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποδεδρακότα
κελεύων ἀναζητῆσαι, καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐπαινῶν
ὅτι Νίκωνα, Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον, συνέλαβε, καὶ
Μεγαβύζῳ περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
καθεζομένου, κελεύων αὐτόν, ἂν δύνηται, συλλαβεῖν
ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ
2 ἱερῷ μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας
διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν
ὤτων τῷ ἑτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος,
ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται
καὶ ἀδιάβλητον. ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερόν γε αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυναν
αἱ πολλαὶ διαβολαί, διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν πάροδον
ἐπὶ τὰ ψευδῆ λαβοῦσαι. καὶ μάλιστα
κακῶς ἀκούων ἐξίστατο τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ χαλεπὸς
ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἅτε δὴ τὴν δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ
ζῆν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἠγαπηκώς.

3 Τότε δὲ ἐξήλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον ὡς πάλιν
μαχούμενος· ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βήσσου γενομένην
αὐτοῦ σύλληψιν ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς
οἴκαδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἐπιμετρήσας
ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν ἀργαλέαν
καὶ μακρὰν γινομένην (ἕνδεκα γὰρ ἡμέραις ἱππάσατο
τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους)
ἀπηγόρευσαν μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ
4 τὴν ἀνυδρίαν. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπήντησαν
αὐτῷ τινες ὕδωρ ἐν ἀσκοῖς ἐφ᾽ ἡμιόνων κομίζοντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξαν-

XLII. And it is astonishing that he had time to write so many letters for his friends. For instance, he wrote one giving orders to seek out a slave of Seleucus who had run away into Cilicia; and one in commendation of Peucestas for arresting Nicon, a servant of Craterus; and one to Megabyzus about an attendant who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, bidding him, if possible, entice the slave outside the sanctuary and then arrest him, but not to lay hands upon him in the sanctuary. It is said, too, that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over one of his ears while the accuser was speaking, that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused. But afterwards the multitude of accusations which he heard rendered him harsh, and led him to believe the false because so many were true. And particularly when he was maligned he lost discretion and was cruel and inexorable, since he loved his reputation more than his life or his kingdom.

Now, however, he marched out against Dareius,[1] expecting to fight another battle; but when he heard that Dareius had been seized by Bessus, he sent his Thessalians home, after distributing among them a largess of two thousand talents over and above their pay. In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three hundred furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a

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[1] In the spring of 330 B.C.

δρον ἤδη μεσημβρίας οὔσης κακῶς ὑπὸ δίψους
ἔχοντα ταχὺ πλησάμενοι κράνος προσήνεγκαν.
πυθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίσι κομίζοιεν, "Υἱοῖς,"
ἔφασαν, "ἰδίοις· ἀλλὰ σοῦ ζῶντος ἑτέρους ποιησόμεθα,
5 κἂν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωμεν." ταῦτα ἀκούσας
ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ κράνος· περιβλέψας
δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας
ἐγκεκλικότας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν
βλέποντας ἀπέδωκεν οὐ πιών, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "Ἂν γὰρ αὐτός," ἔφη, "πίω
6 μόνος, ἀθυμήσουσιν οὗτοι." θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν
ἐγκράτειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν οἱ ἱππεῖς
ἄγειν ἀνέκραγον θαρροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
ἐμάστιζον· οὔτε γὰρ κάμνειν οὔτε διψᾶν οὔθ'
ὅλως θνητοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν αὑτούς, ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι
βασιλέα τοιοῦτον.

XLIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προθυμία πάντων ἦν ὁμοία· 69
μόνους δέ φασιν ἑξήκοντα συνεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ
στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺν μὲν
ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐρριμμένον ὑπερβαίνοντες,
πολλὰς δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἁρμαμάξας
ἡνιόχων ἐρήμους διαφερομένας παρερχόμενοι,
τοὺς πρώτους ἐδίωκον, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις Δαρεῖον
ὄντα. μόλις δὲ εὑρίσκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων
κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἁρμαμάξῃ,
2 μικρὸν ἀπολείπων τοῦ τελευτᾶν. ὅμως δὲ καὶ
πιεῖν ᾔτησε, καὶ πιὼν ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον· "Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦτό
μοι πέρας γέγονε δυστυχίας ἁπάσης, εὖ παθεῖν
ἀμείψασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον· ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος
ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ

wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied: "For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; "For," said he, "if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart." But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as they had such a king.

XLIII. So, then, all were alike ready and willing; but only sixty, they say, were with Alexander when he burst into the camp of the enemy. There, indeed, they rode over much gold and silver that was thrown away, passed by many waggons full of women and children which were coursing hither and thither without their drivers, and pursued those who were foremost in flight, thinking that Dareius was among them. But at last they found him lying in a waggon, his body all full of javelins, at the point of death. Nevertheless, he asked for something to drink, and when he had drunk some cold water which Polystratus gave him, he said to him: "My man, this is the extremity of all my ill-fortune, that I receive good at thy hands and am not able to return it; but Alexander will requite thee for thy good offices, and the gods will reward Alexander for his kindness to

*τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς
ἐπιεικείας, ᾧ ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σοῦ."
ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Πολυστράτου*
3 *χειρὸς ἐξέλιπεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν,
ἀλγῶν τε τῷ πάθει φανερὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
χλαμύδα λύσας ἐπέβαλε τῷ σώματι καὶ περιέστειλε.
καὶ Βῆσσον μὲν ὕστερον εὑρὼν διεσφενδόνησεν,
ὀρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταὐτὸ καμφθέντων
ἑκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἶτα
μεθεὶς ἑκάτερον, ὡς ὥρμητο ῥύμῃ φερόμενον, τὸ
προσῆκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι. τότε δὲ τοῦ
Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς
πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν
Ἐξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀνέλαβεν.*

XLIV. *Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυνάμεως
εἰς Ὑρκανίαν κατέβαινε· καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν
κόλπον οὐκ ἐλάττονα μὲν τοῦ Πόντου φανέντα,
γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης, σαφὲς μὲν
οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ
εἴκασε τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι.*
2 *καίτοι τούς γε φυσικοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔλαθε τἀληθές,
ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
στρατείας ἱστορήκασιν ὅτι τεσσάρων
κόλπων εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης
βορειότατος οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ Ὑρκάνιον πέλαγος
καὶ Κάσπιον ὁμοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.*

*Ἐνταῦθα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἀπροσδοκήτως
περιτυχόντες τοῖς ἄγουσι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τὸν*
3 *Βουκεφάλαν λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἤνεγκεν οὐ με-*

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[1] These details of the death of Dareius are not to be found in Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 21 *fin.*), but in Curtius (v. 13, 28) and Diodorus (xvii. 73).

my mother, wife, and children; to him, through thee, I give this right hand." With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and then expired.[1] When Alexander came up, he was manifestly distressed by what had happened, and unfastening his own cloak threw it upon the body and covered it. And when, at a later time,[2] he found Bessus, he had him rent asunder. Two straight trees were bent together and a part of his body fastened to each; then when each was released and sprang vigorously back, the part of the body that was attached to it followed after. Now, however, he sent the body of Dareius, laid out in royal state, to his mother,[3] and admitted his brother, Exathres, into the number of his companions.

XLIV. He himself, however, with the flower of his army, marched on into Hyrcania. Here he saw a gulf of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, but was sweeter than the Mediterranean. He could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stagnant overflow from the Palus Maeotis. And yet naturalists were well aware of the truth, and many years before Alexander's expedition they had set forth that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which stretch inland from the outer sea, and was called indifferently the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea.

Here some Barbarians unexpectedly fell in with those who were leading Alexander's horse, Bucephalas, and captured him. Alexander was angry

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[2] In the spring of 329 B.C. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 30, 5; iv. 7, 3 ff.

[3] "To Persepolis, with orders that it should be buried in the royal sepulchre" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 22, 1).

τρίως, ἀλλὰ κήρυκα πέμψας ἠπείλησε πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἄγοντες ἧκον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἐχρήσατο φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου λύτρα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔδωκεν.

XLV. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολήν, εἴτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικειοῦν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὡς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύνηθες καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἴτ' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφεῖτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὕτη τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιαίτησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθιζομένοις. 2 οὐ μὴν τήν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν, οὐδὲ ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κάνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μιξάμενος εὖ πως, ἀτυφοτέραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὖσαν. ἐχρῆτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις κατ' οἶκον, εἶτα τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ χρηματίζων ἑωρᾶτο. 3 καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἀρετὴν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἔνια τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν· ὅς γε πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔναγχος τόξευμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κνήμην

beyond measure, and sent a herald threatening to put them all to the sword, together with their wives and children, if they did not send him back his horse. But when they came with the horse and also put their cities into his hands, he treated them all kindly, and gave a ransom for his horse to those who had captured him.

XLV. From thence he marched into Parthia,[1] where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress, either from a desire to adapt himself to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men; or else this was an attempt to introduce the obeisance[2] among the Macedonians, by accustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. However, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers, or sleeved vest, or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other. At first he wore this only in intercourse with the Barbarians and with his companions at home, then people generally saw him riding forth or giving audience in this attire. The sight was offensive to the Macedonians, but they admired his other high qualities and thought they ought to yield to him in some things which made for his pleasure or his fame. For, in addition to all his other hardships, he had recently been shot by an arrow in the leg below the knee, so

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[1] In the early autumn of 330 B.C.

[2] Prostration on the ground before a great personage, a peculiarly Persian custom.

λαβών, ὑφ' οὗ τὸ τῆς κερκίδος ὀστέον ἀποθραυσθὲν ἐξέπεσε, λίθῳ δὲ πληγεὶς πάλιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἀχλὺν ὑπο- 691
4 δραμεῖν παραμείνασαν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπαύετο χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὀρεξάρτην διαβὰς ποταμόν, ὃν αὐτὸς ᾤετο Τάναϊν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τρεψάμενος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατόν, ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ διαρροίας.

XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὧν καὶ Κλείταρχός ἐστι καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἴστρος· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεὺς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ
2 Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο. καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀντιπάτρῳ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς τὸν μὲν Σκύθην αὐτῷ φησι διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνος δὲ οὐ μνημονεύει. λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὀνησίκριτος ὕστερον ἤδη βασιλεύοντι Λυσιμάχῳ τῶν βιβλίων τὸ τέταρτον ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος· τὸν οὖν Λυσίμαχον ἀτρέμα μειδιάσαντα "Καὶ που," φάναι, "τότε ἤμην ἐγώ;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄν τις οὔτε ἀπιστῶν ἧττον οὔτε πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσειε.

XLVII. Φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος εἴασε κατὰ χώραν, τοὺς δὲ

that splinters of the larger bone came out; and at another time he was smitten in the neck with a stone so severely that his eye-sight was clouded and remained so for some time. Nevertheless, he did not cease exposing himself to dangers without stint, nay, he actually crossed the river Orexartes (which he himself supposed to be the Tanaïs), put the Scythians to rout, and pursued them for a hundred furlongs, although he was suffering all the while from a diarrhoea.

XLVI. Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testimony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon. And the story is told that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled gently and said: "And where was I at the time?" However, our belief or disbelief of this story will neither increase nor diminish our admiration for Alexander.

XLVII. Fearing that his Macedonians might tire of the rest of his expedition, he left the greater part of them in quarters, and while he had the best of

ἀρίστους ἔχων ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, προσέβαλε, λέγων ὡς νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνύπνιον τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρώντων, ἂν δὲ μόνον ταράξαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπίωσιν, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθὺς ὥσπερ γυναιξίν.
2 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι γε τοὺς βουλομένους ἐφῆκε,*[1] *μαρτυράμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδόσι κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐθελόντων στρατεύειν. ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξέκραγον ὅποι βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγειν. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων τὴν πεῖραν οὐκέτι ἦν χαλεπὸν προαχθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως ἐπηκολούθησεν.*

3 *Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡμοίου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτόν, ἐκεῖνά τε προσῆγε τοῖς Μακεδονικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας καταστήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βίᾳ, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τρισμυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας*
4 *καταστήσας. καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωξάνην ἔρωτι μὲν ἐπράχθη, καλὴν καὶ ὡραίαν ἔν τινι χόρῳ παρὰ πότον ὀφθεῖσαν, ἔδοξε δὲ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν*

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[1] ἐφῆκε Coraës' correction of the ἔφη καὶ of the MSS., adopted by Sint.; Bekker reads ἀφιέναι . . . ἔφη.

them with him in Hyrcania, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he addressed them, saying that at present they were seen by the Barbarians as in a dream, but that if they should merely throw Asia into confusion and then leave it they would be attacked by them as if they were women. However, he said, he allowed those who wished it to go away, calling them to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. After these had met his test of their loyalty, it was no longer a hard matter for the main body to be led along too, nay, they readily followed after.

Under these circumstances, too, he adapted his own mode of life still more to the customs of the country, and tried to bring these into closer agreement with Macedonian customs, thinking that by a mixture and community of practice which produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, too, he chose out thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appointing many instructors for this work. His marriage to Roxana, whom he saw in her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, was a love affair, and yet it was thought to harmonize well with the matters which he had in hand. For the Barbarians were encouraged by the partnership into which the marriage brought them, and they were beyond

Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σωφρονέστατος
περὶ ταῦτα γεγονὼς οὐδὲ ἧς μόνης ἡττήθη γυναικὸς
ἄνευ νόμου θιγεῖν ὑπέμεινεν.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἑώρα τῶν μεγίστων
Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ συμμετακοσμούμενον
αὐτῷ, Κρατερὸν δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα,
δι' ἐκείνου μὲν ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ
τούτου δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· καὶ
ὅλως τὸν μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δὲ ἐτίμα, νομίζων
καὶ λέγων ἀεὶ τὸν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλαλέξανδρον
εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατερὸν φιλοβασιλέα.
6 διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπούλως ἔχοντες συνέκρουον
πολλάκις. ἅπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν
καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ
τῶν φίλων ἑκατέρῳ παραβοηθούντων προσελάσας
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα φανερῶς,
ἔμπληκτον καλῶν καὶ μαινόμενον, εἰ μὴ συνίησιν
ὡς, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφέληται, 692
μηδέν ἐστιν· ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς
7 καθήψατο. καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας
ἐπώμοσε τὸν Ἄμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς, ἦ
μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐκείνους·
ἂν δὲ πάλιν αἴσθηται διαφερομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν
ἀμφοτέρους, ἢ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐδὲ
παίζοντες εἰπεῖν τι οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
λέγονται.

XLVIII. Φιλώτας δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ἀξίωμα μὲν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσι μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ

measure fond of Alexander, because, most temperate of all men that he was in these matters, he would not consent to approach even the only woman who ever mastered his affections, without the sanction of law.

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the former in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king. For this reason, too, the men cherished a secret grudge against one another and often came into open collision. And once, on the Indian expedition, they actually drew their swords and closed with one another, and as the friends of each were coming to his aid, Alexander rode up and abused Hephaestion publicly, calling him a fool and a madman for not knowing that without Alexander's favour he was nothing; and in private he also sharply reproved Craterus. Then he brought them together and reconciled them, taking an oath by Ammon and the rest of the gods that he loved them most of all men; but that if he heard of their quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. Wherefore after this they neither did nor said anything to harm one another, not even in jest.

XLVIII. Now, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had a high position among the Macedonians; for he was held to be valiant and able to endure hardship, and,

οὕτω καὶ φιλέταιρος μετʼ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
οὐδείς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς
αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι· φήσαντος
δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, “Τί λέγεις;” εἶπεν,
2 “οὐδὲ ποτήριον ἔχεις οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον;” ὄγκῳ δὲ
φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλούτου καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ
σῶμα θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστερον
ἢ κατʼ ἰδιώτην, καὶ τότε δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ
ὑψηλὸν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἀλλʼ ἄνευ χαρίτων τῷ
σολοίκῳ καὶ παρασήμῳ μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν καὶ
φθόνον ἔσχεν, ὥστε καὶ Παρμενίωνά ποτε εἰπεῖν
3 πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ὦ παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνου.” πρὸς
δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων
ἐτύγχανε διαβεβλημένος. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περὶ
Δαμασκὸν ἑάλω χρήματα Δαρείου νικηθέντος ἐν
Κιλικίᾳ, πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον εὑρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις,
τῷ μὲν γένει Πυδναῖον, εὐπρεπὲς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν·
4 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντιγόνη. τοῦτο ἔσχεν ὁ Φιλώτας·
οἷα δὲ νέος πρὸς ἐρωμένην καὶ σὺν οἴνῳ πολλὰ
φιλότιμα καὶ στρατιωτικὰ παρρησιαζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ
τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοῦ
πατρός, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει διʼ
5 αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα καρπούμενον. ταῦτα
τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκφερούσης πρός τινα τῶν συνήθων,
ἐκείνου δέ, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς ἕτερον, περιῆλθεν εἰς
Κρατερὸν ὁ λόγος· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰσήγαγε
κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δὲ
ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ Φιλώτᾳ,
καὶ πᾶν, ὅ τι ἂν ἐκπύθηται τούτου, πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσαν.

after Alexander himself, no one was so fond of giving and so fond of his comrades. At any rate, we are told that when one of his intimates asked him for some money, he ordered his steward to give it him, and when the steward said he had none to give, "What meanest thou?" cried Philotas, "hast thou not even plate or clothing?" However, he displayed a pride of spirit, an abundance of wealth, and a care of the person and mode of life which were too offensive for a private man, and at this time particularly his imitation of majesty and loftiness was not successful at all, but clumsy, spurious, and devoid of grace, so that he incurred suspicion and envy, and even Parmenio once said to him: "My son, pray be less of a personage." Moreover, for a very long time accusations against him had been brought to Alexander himself. For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got; and as a young man will often talk freely in vaunting and martial strain to his mistress and in his cups, he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover.

XLIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλευόμενος
οὕτως ἠγνόει, καὶ συνῆν τῇ Ἀντιγόνῃ πολλὰ καὶ
πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ῥήματα καὶ λόγους
2 κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπιτηδείους προϊέμενος. ὁ
δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ καρτερᾶς ἐνδείξεως κατὰ
τοῦ Φιλώτου προσπεσούσης, ἐκαρτέρησε σιωπῇ
καὶ κατέσχεν, εἴτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ
πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιὼς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ
τὴν δύναμιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Μακεδὼν
ὄνομα Λίμνος, ἐκ Χαλαίστρας, ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
Νικόμαχόν τινα τῶν νέων, πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς
ἐρωτικῶς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς πράξεως
3 παρεκάλει. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου, φράσαντος δὲ
τἀδελφῷ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πεῖραν, ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος
πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς
Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν
καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὅ τι δὴ παθὼν
(ἄδηλον γάρ ἐστιν), οὐ παρῆγεν αὐτούς, ὡς πρὸς
ἄλλοις μείζοσι γιγνομένου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ
4 τοῦτο δὶς ἐποίησεν. οἱ δὲ καθ᾽ ὑποψίαν ἤδη τοῦ
Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἕτερον καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνου
τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσαχθέντες πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ
Λίμνου κατεῖπον, ἔπειτα παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχῇ
τὸν Φιλώταν, ὡς ἀμελήσειεν αὐτῶν δὶς ἐντυχόντων.
καὶ τοῦτο δὴ σφόδρα παρώξυνε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον·
καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς
ἠμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν,
ἔτι μᾶλλον διεταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγέναι
5 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων. καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων 693

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[1] In the late autumn of 330 B.C.

XLIX. Now, Philotas was ignorant of the plot thus laid against him, and in his frequent interviews with Antigone would utter many angry and boastful speeches and many improper words against the king. But Alexander, although strong testimony against Philotas came to his ears, endured in silence and restrained himself, either because he had confidence in Parmenio's good will towards him, or because he feared the reputation and power of father and son. Meanwhile, however, a Macedonian named Limnus, from Chalaestra, conspired against Alexander's life,[1] and invited Nicomachus, one of the young men, whose lover he was, to take part with him in the undertaking. Nicomachus would not accept the invitation, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt, and he, going to Philotas, ordered him to conduct them into the presence of Alexander, on the ground that there were matters of great importance about which they must see him. But Philotas, for whatever reason (and the reason is not known), would not conduct them in, alleging that the king was engaged on other matters of more importance. And he refused their request twice. They now became suspicious of Philotas and applied to someone else, by whom they were brought before Alexander. In the first place they told him about the plot of Limnus, and then threw out veiled insinuations against Philotas, on the ground that he had neglected their petitions on two occasions. This greatly incensed Alexander; and when he found that Limnus had defended himself against arrest and had therefore been killed by the man sent to fetch him, he was still more disturbed in mind, thinking that the proof of the plot had escaped him. And since

πρὸς τὸν Φιλώταν ἐπεσπάσατο τοὺς πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτόν, ἤδη φανερῶς λέγοντας ὡς ῥᾳθυμία τοῦ βασιλέως εἴη Λίμνον οἰομένου, Χαλαιστραῖον ἄνθρωπον, ἐπιχειρῆσαι τολμήματι τοσούτῳ καθ' αὑτόν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπηρέτην εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄργανον ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀρχῆς ἀφιέμενον, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ζητητέον οἷς μάλιστα ταῦτα λανθάνειν συνέφερε.
6 τοιούτοις λόγοις καὶ ὑπονοίαις ἀναπετάσαντος τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπῆγον ἤδη μυρίας κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου διαβολάς. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἑταίρων ἐφεστώτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατακούοντος ἔξωθεν αὐλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς τοῦ Φιλώτου φωνὰς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος· "Οὕτω δὴ μαλακὸς ὤν, ὦ Φιλώτα, καὶ ἄνανδρος ἐπεχείρεις πράγμασι
7 τηλικούτοις;" ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου καὶ Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθὺς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, μόνον δὲ ἢ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι, τριῶν δὲ υἱῶν οὓς ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς δύο μὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ συναναιρεθέντα.

8 Ταῦτα πραχθέντα πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων φοβερὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ· καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεμψε κρύφα πίστεις διδοὺς καὶ λαμβάνων. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἣν

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 26.

he felt bitter towards Philotas he drew to himself those who had long hated the man, and they now said openly that the king took things too easily when he supposed that Limnus, a man of Chalaestra, had set his hand to a deed of so great daring on his own account; nay, they said, he was only an assistant, or rather an instrument sent forth by a higher power, and enquiry into the plot should be made in those quarters where there was most interest in having it concealed. After the king had once given ear to such speeches and suspicions, the enemies of Philotas brought up countless accusations against him. Consequently he was arrested and put to the question, the companions of the king standing by at the torture, while Alexander himself listened behind a stretch of tapestry. Here, as we are told, on hearing Philotas beset Hephaestion with abject and pitiful cries and supplications, he said: "So faint-hearted as thou art, Philotas, and so unmanly, couldst thou have set hand to so great an undertaking?" After Philotas had been put to death, Alexander sent at once into Media and dispatched Parmenio also, a man whose achievements with Philip had been many, and who was the only one of Alexander's older friends, or the principal one, to urge his crossing into Asia, and who, of the three sons that were his, had seen two killed on the expedition before this, and was now put to death along with the third.[1]

These actions made Alexander an object of fear to many of his friends, and particularly to Antipater, who sent secretly to the Aetolians and entered into an alliance with them. For the Aetolians also were in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Oeniadae, and because Alexander, on

πυθόμενος οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἰτωλοῖς.

L. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ Κλεῖτον, οὕτω μὲν ἁπλῶς πυθομένοις τῶν κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα· λόγῳ μέντοι συντιθέντες ἅμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίᾳ τινὶ ταῦτα εὑρίσκομεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀργὴν καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλείτου δαίμονι παρασχόντος.
2 ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. ἧκόν τινες ὀπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐκάλει τὸν Κλεῖτον, ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀφεὶς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐβάδιζε· καὶ τρία τῶν κατεσπεισμένων προβάτων
3 ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεομάντει τῷ Λάκωνι. φησάντων δὲ πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κλείτου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἄτοπον· δόξαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Κλεῖτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίωνος υἱῶν ἐν μέλασιν ἱματίοις καθέζεσθαι, τεθνηκότων ἁπάν-
4 των. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν ὁ Κλεῖτος ἐκθυσάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἧκε, τεθυκότος τοῦ βασιλέως Διοσκούροις. πότου δὲ νεανικοῦ συρραγέντος ᾔδετο ποιήματα Πρανίχου τινός, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, Πιερίωνος, εἰς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πε-

learning of it, had said that it would not be the sons of the Oeneadae, but he himself who would punish the Aetolians.

L. Not long afterwards came the affair of Cleitus,[1] which those who simply learn the immediate circumstances will think more savage than that of Philotas; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of Cleitus. It happened on this wise. Some people came bringing Greek fruit to the king from the sea-board. He admired its perfection and beauty and called Cleitus, wishing to show it to him and share it with him. It chanced that Cleitus was sacrificing, but he gave up the sacrifice and came; and three of the sheep on which libations had already been poured came following after him. When the king learned of this circumstance, he imparted it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian. Then, on their telling him that the omen was bad, he ordered them to sacrifice in all haste for the safety of Cleitus. For he himself, two days before this, had seen a strange vision in his sleep; he thought he saw Cleitus sitting with the sons of Parmenio in black robes, and all were dead. However, Cleitus did not finish his sacrifice, but came at once to the supper of the king, who had sacrificed to the Dioscuri. After boisterous drinking was under way, verses were sung which had been composed by a certain Pranichus, or, as some say, Pierio, to shame and ridicule the

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[1] During the campaign of 328 B.C., at Samarkand, in Sogdiana. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 8 f.

ποιημένα τοὺς ἔναγχος ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
5 βάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλωτι. τῶν δὲ πρε-
σβυτέρων δυσχεραινόντων καὶ λοιδορούντων τόν
τε ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ᾄδοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἀκροωμένων καὶ λέγειν
κελευόντων, ὁ Κλεῖτος ἤδη μεθύων καὶ φύσει
τραχὺς ὢν ὀργὴν καὶ αὐθάδης ἠγανάκτει μάλιστα,
φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις
ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας πολὺ βελτίονας τῶν γε-
6 λώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχίᾳ κέχρηνται. φήσαντος
δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλεῖτον αὑτῷ συνηγορεῖν
δυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ
Κλεῖτος, “Αὕτη μέντοι σε,” εἶπεν, “ἡ δειλία τὸν
ἐκ θεῶν ἤδη τῷ Σπιθριδάτου ξίφει τὸν νῶτον
ἐκτρέποντα περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἵ- 69
ματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τούτοις ἐγένου τηλικοῦτος
ὥστε Ἄμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν ἀπειπάμενος
Φίλιππον.”

LI. Παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ἦ ταῦ-
τα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ κακὴ κεφαλή, σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν
ἑκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας
χαιρήσειν νομίζεις;” “Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν,” ἔφη,
“χαίρομεν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων
κομιζόμενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας
πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν Μηδικαῖς ῥάβδοις ξαινομένους Μακε-
δόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ
2 προσέλθωμεν.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλείτου παρρησια-
ζομένου καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντανισταμέ-
νων καὶ λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἀποστραφεὶς πρὸς Ξενόδοχον τὸν Καρδιανὸν

generals who had lately been defeated by the Barbarians. The older guests were annoyed at this and railed at both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those about him listened with delight and bade the singer go on. Then Cleitus, who was already drunk and naturally of a harsh temper and wilful, was more than ever vexed, and insisted that it was not well done, when among Barbarians and enemies, to insult Macedonians who were far better men than those who laughed at them, even though they had met with misfortune. And when Alexander declared that Cleitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the name of misfortune, Cleitus sprang to his feet and said: "It was this cowardice of mine, however, that saved thy life, god-born as thou art, when thou wast already turning thy back upon the spear of Spithridates;[1] and it is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, that thou art become so great as to disown Philip and make thyself son to Ammon."[2]

LI. Thoroughly incensed, then, Alexander said: "Base fellow, dost thou think to speak thus of me at all times, and to raise faction among Macedonians, with impunity?" "Nay," said Cleitus, "not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils; and we pronounce those happy who are already dead, and did not live to see us Macedonians thrashed with Median rods, or begging Persians in order to get audience with our king." So spake Cleitus in all boldness, and those about Alexander sprang up to confront him and reviled him, while the elder men tried to quell the tumult. Then Alexander, turning to Xenodochus of Cardia

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[1] Cf. chapter xvi. 5.

[2] Cf. chapters xxvii. f.

καὶ τὸν Κολοφωνιον Ἀρτέμιον, "Οὐ δοκοῦσιν,"
εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὥσπερ
3 ἐν θηρίοις ἡμίθεοι περιπατεῖν;" τοῦ δὲ Κλείτου
μὴ εἴκοντος, ἀλλὰ εἰς μέσον ἃ βούλεται λέγειν
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἢ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ
δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχοντας,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων,
οἳ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸν διάλευκον αὐτοῦ
χιτῶνα προσκυνήσουσιν, οὐκέτι φέρων τὴν ὀργὴν
Ἀλέξανδρος μήλων παρακειμένων ἑνὶ βαλὼν
4 ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐζήτει. τῶν δὲ
σωματοφυλάκων ἑνὸς Ἀριστοφάνους φθάσαντος
ὑφελέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιεχόντων καὶ δεομένων,
ἀναπηδήσας ἀνεβόα Μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν
τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς (τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου
μεγάλου), καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν,
καὶ πὺξ ἔπαισεν ὡς διατρίβοντα καὶ μὴ
βουλόμενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν
ὡς τοῦ μὴ συνταραχθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰτιώτατος
γενόμενος. τὸν δὲ Κλεῖτον οὐχ ὑφιέμενον
οἱ φίλοι μόλις ἐξέωσαν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος.

5 Ὁ δὲ κατ' ἄλλας θύρας αὖθις εἰσῄει, μάλα
ὀλιγώρως καὶ θρασέως Εὐριπίδου τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης
ἰαμβεῖα ταῦτα περαίνων·

οἴμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται.

οὕτω δὴ λαβὼν παρά τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλέξανδρος
αἰχμὴν ἀπαντῶντα τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ
καὶ παράγοντα τὸ πρὸ τῆς θύρας παρακάλυμμα
6 διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ

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[1] Verse 683 (Kirchhoff).

and Artemius of Colophon, said: "Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about among Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts?" Cleitus, however, would not yield, but called on Alexander to speak out freely what he wished to say, or else not to invite to supper men who were free and spoke their minds, but to live with Barbarians and slaves, who would do obeisance to his white tunic and Persian girdle. Then Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw one of the apples that lay on the table at Cleitus and hit him, and began looking about for his sword. But one of his body-guards, Aristophanes, conveyed it away before he could lay hands on it, and the rest surrounded him and begged him to desist, whereupon he sprang to his feet and called out in Macedonian speech a summons to his corps of guards (and this was a sign of great disturbance), and ordered the trumpeter to sound, and smote him with his fist because he hesitated and was unwilling to do so. This man, then, was afterwards held in high esteem on the ground that it was due to him more than to any one else that the camp was not thrown into commotion. But Cleitus would not give in, and with much ado his friends pushed him out of the banquet-hall.

He tried to come in again, however, by another door, very boldly and contemptuously reciting these iambics from the "Andromache" of Euripides[1]:

"Alas! in Hellas what an evil government!"

And so, at last, Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, met Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain before the door, and ran him through. No sooner had Cleitus fallen with a roar and a groan

βρυχήματος εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἰδὼν ἀφώνους ἑστῶτας ἑλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔφθασε, παῖσαι δ' ἑαυτὸν ὁρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βίᾳ παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.

LII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τήν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἤδη τῷ βοᾶν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκὼς ἄναυδος ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμούς, δείσαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσῆλθον βίᾳ. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσίετο τοὺς λόγους, Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τήν τε ὄψιν ἣν εἶδε περὶ τοῦ Κλείτου, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἔδοξεν ἐνδιδόναι.
2 διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισή-
γαγον, Ἀριστοτέλους οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἀβ-
δηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὧν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἠθικῶς
ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ πρᾴως, ὑποδυόμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ
περιϊὼν ἀλύπως, λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ
Ἀνάξαρχος ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν
ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαν εἰληφὼς ὑπεροψίας καὶ
ὀλιγωρίας τῶν συνήθων, εὐθὺς εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβό-
3 ησεν· "Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκου-
μένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει· ὁ δὲ ἔρριπται κλαίων ὥσπερ
ἀνδράποδον, ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ ψόγον δεδοικώς,
οἷς αὐτὸν προσήκει νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὅρον τῶν
δικαίων, ἐπείπερ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, 695
ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένον.

than the king's anger departed from him. And when he was come to himself and beheld his friends standing speechless, he drew the spear from the dead body and would have dashed it into his own throat, had not his body-guards prevented this by seizing his hands and carrying him by force to his chamber.

LII. Here he spent the night and the following day in bitter lamentations, and at last lay speechless, worn out with his cries and wailing, heaving deep groans. Then his friends, alarmed at his silence, forced their way in. To what the others said he would pay no attention, but when Aristander the seer reminded him of the vision he had seen concerning Cleitus, and of the omen,[1] assuring him that all this had long ago been decreed by fate, he seemed to be less obdurate. Therefore they brought in to him Callisthenes the philosopher, who was a relative of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Of these, Callisthenes tried by considerate and gentle methods to alleviate the king's suffering, employing insinuation and circumlocution so as to avoid giving pain; but Anaxarchus, who had always taken a path of his own in philosophy, and had acquired a reputation for despising and slighting his associates, shouted out as soon as he came in: "Here is Alexander, to whom the whole world is now looking; but he lies on the floor weeping like a slave, in fear of the law and the censure of men, unto whom he himself should be a law and a measure of justice, since he has conquered the right to rule and mastery, instead of submitting like a slave to the mastery of a vain opinion. Knowest

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[1] Cf. chapter l. 2 f.

4 *οὐκ οἶσθα," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τὴν Δίκην ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν ᾖ καὶ δίκαιον;" τοιούτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὑτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν οὖσαν, προσδιέβαλε.*

5 *Λέγεται δέ ποτε παρὰ δεῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὡρῶν καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων ὄντων, τὸν Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς λέγουσι τἀκεῖ μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσχείμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονεικοῦντος, εἰπεῖν· "Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σοὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὁμολογεῖν ψυχρότερα· σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τρίβωνι διεχείμαζες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιβεβλημένος δάπιδας κατάκεισαι." τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀνάξαρχον καὶ τοῦτο προσπαρώξυνε.*

LIII. *Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους σοφιστὰς καὶ κόλακας ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐλύπει σπουδαζόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διὰ τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων διὰ τὸν βίον, εὔτακτον ὄντα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη, καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τὴν λεγομένην τῆς ἀποδημίας πρόφασιν, ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας καταγαγεῖν καὶ κατοικίσαι πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα*
2 *φιλοτιμούμενος ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. φθονούμενος δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἔστιν ἃ καὶ καθ' αὑτοῦ τοῖς διαβάλλουσι παρεῖχε, τάς τε κλήσεις τὰ*

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[1] Olynthus, which had been destroyed by Philip in 347 B.C.

thou not," said he, "that Zeus has Justice and Law seated beside him, in order that everything that is done by the master of the world may be lawful and just?" By using some such arguments as these Anaxarchus succeeded in lightening the suffering of the king, it is true, but rendered his disposition in many ways more vainglorious and lawless; he also made himself wonderfully liked by the king, and brought the intercourse of Callisthenes with him, which had always been unpleasant because of the man's austerity, into additional disfavour.

It is said that once at supper the conversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callisthenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said: "You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter in a cloak merely, but here you recline at table with three rugs thrown over you." Of course this also added to the irritation of Anaxarchus.

LIII. Moreover, the other sophists and flatterers in the train of Alexander were annoyed to see Callisthenes eagerly courted by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less pleasing to the older men on account of his mode of life, which was well-ordered, dignified, and independent, and confirmed the reason given for his sojourn abroad, namely, that he had gone to Alexander from an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-people his native city.[1] And besides being envied on account of his reputation, he also at times by his own conduct furnished material for his detractors, rejecting invitations for the most

πολλὰ διωθούμενος, ἔν τε τῷ συνεῖναι βαρύτητι καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ·

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ σοφός.

3 Λέγεται δέ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπαινέσαι κελευσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου Μακεδόνας ὁ Καλλισθένης οὕτως εὐροῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὥστε ἀνισταμένους κροτεῖν καὶ βάλλειν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν· εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι, κατ᾽ Εὐριπίδην, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων

καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ᾽ ἔργον εὖ λέγειν·

4 "Ἀλλ᾽ ἔνδειξαι," φάναι, "τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν κατηγορήσας Μακεδόνων, ἵνα καὶ βελτίους γένωνται μαθόντες ἃ πλημμελοῦσιν." οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινῳδίαν τραπόμενον πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφήναντα τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππον αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως εἰπεῖν·

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε τιμῆς·

5 ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πικρὸν καὶ βαρὺ ἐγγενέσθαι μῖσος τοῖς Μακεδόσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ τῆς

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[1] An iambic trimeter from an unknown play of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*^{2} p. 652).

part, and when he did go into company, by his gravity and silence making it appear that he disapproved or disliked what was going on, so that even Alexander said in allusion to him:—

> "I hate a wise man even to himself unwise."[1]

It is said, moreover, that once when a large company had been invited to the king's supper, Callisthenes was bidden, when the cup came to him, to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and was so successful on the theme that the guests rose up to applaud him and threw their garlands at him; whereupon Alexander said that, in the language of Euripides, when a man has for his words

> "A noble subject, it is easy to speak well;"[2]

"But show us the power of your eloquence," said he, "by a denunciation of the Macedonians, that they may become even better by learning their faults." And so Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip's power, added:

> "But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in
> honour."[3]

This gave the Macedonians a stern and bitter hatred of him, and Alexander declared that Callisthenes

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[2] *Bacchae*, 260 (Kirchhoff).

[3] A proverb in hexameter verse, sometimes attributed to Callimachus. Cf. the *Nicias*, xi. 3; *Morals*, p. 479 a.

δεινότητος ὁ Καλλισθένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυσμενείας Μακεδόσιν ἀπόδειξιν δέδωκε.

LIV. *Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἕρμιππός φησι τὸν ἀναγνώστην τοῦ Καλλισθένους Στροῖβον Ἀριστοτέλει διηγεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην συνέντα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ βασιλέως δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν·*

> *κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.*

οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι
Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας,
2 *νοῦν δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν. ἀλλὰ τήν γε προσκύνησιν*
ἰσχυρῶς ἀπωσάμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος
ἐν φανερῷ διελθὼν ἃ κρύφα πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι
καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠγανάκτουν,
τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας αἰσχύνης ἀπήλλαξε μεγάλης,
καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποτρέψας τὴν προσκύνησιν, 69
αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν
μᾶλλον ἢ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα.
3 *Χάρης δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον*
ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πιόντα φιάλην προτεῖναί τινι
τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἑστίαν ἀναστῆναι
καὶ πιόντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἶτα
φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ κατακλιθῆναι.
4 *πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιούντων ἐφεξῆς τὸν Καλλισθένην*
λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ
βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ Ἡφαιστίωνι προσδιαλεγομένου,
πιόντα προσιέναι φιλήσοντα, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ

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[1] Achilles to Hector, *Iliad*, xxi. 107.

had given a proof, not of his eloquence, but of his ill-will towards the Macedonians.

LIV. This, then, according to Hermippus, is the story which Stroebus, the slave who read aloud for Callisthenes, told to Aristotle, and he says that when Callisthenes was aware of the alienation of the king, twice or thrice, as he was going away from him, he recited the verse:

"Dead is also Patroclus, a man far braver than thou
art."[1]

What Aristotle said, then, would seem to have been no idle verdict, namely, that Callisthenes showed great ability as a speaker, but lacked common sense. But in the matter of the obeisance, at least, by refusing sturdily and like a philosopher to perform the act, and by standing forth alone and rehearsing in public the reasons for the indignation which all the oldest and best of the Macedonians cherished in secret, he delivered the Greeks from a great disgrace, and Alexander from a greater, by leading him not to insist upon the obeisance; but he destroyed himself, because he was thought to use force rather than persuasion with the king.

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him; but

προσονομαζομένου Φείδωνος εἰπόντος, "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ φιλήσῃς· οὗτος γάρ σε μόνος οὐ προσεκύνησε," διακλῖναι τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν· "Φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἄπειμι."

LV. *Τοιαύτης ὑπογενομένης ἀλλοτριότητος
πρῶτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ὅτι
συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνῆ-
σαι ψεύσαιτο τὴν ὁμολογίαν· ἔπειτα Λυσίμαχοι
καὶ Ἅγνωνες ἐπεφύοντο φάσκοντες περιϊέναι τὸν
σοφιστὴν ὡς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα
φρονοῦντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μειράκια
καὶ περιέπειν ὡς μόνον ἐλεύθερον ἐν τοσαύταις*
2 *μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον ἐπιβου-
λευσάντων τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ φανερῶν γενο-
μένων ἔδοξαν ἀληθέσιν ὅμοια κατηγορεῖν οἱ
διαβάλλοντες, ὡς τῷ μὲν προβαλόντι πῶς ἂν
ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος, εἶπεν, "Ἂν ἀπο-
κτείνῃ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον," τὸν δὲ Ἑρμόλαον ἐπὶ
τὴν πρᾶξιν παροξύνων ἐκέλευε μὴ δεδιέναι τὴν
χρυσῆν κλίνην, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύειν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι*
3 *καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ πρόσεισιν ἀνθρώπῳ. καίτοι
τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης
ἀνάγκης τοῦ Καλλισθένους κατεῖπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εὐθὺς Κρατερῷ γράφων καὶ
Ἀττάλῳ καὶ Ἀλκέτᾳ φησὶ τοὺς παῖδας βασανι-
ζομένους ὁμολογεῖν ὡς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειαν,
ἄλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς συνειδείη. ὕστερον δὲ γράφων
πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπ-*

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 12.

[2] The conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 13).

Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried: "O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance." So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes exclaimed in a loud voice: "Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss."[1]

LV. The king having been thus alienated, in the first place, Hephaestion found credence for his story that Callisthenes had promised him to make obeisance to the king and then had been false to his agreement. Again, men like Lysimachus and Hagnon persisted in saying that the sophist went about with lofty thoughts as if bent on abolishing a tyranny, and that the young men flocked to him and followed him about as if he were the only freeman among so many tens of thousands. For this reason also, when the conspiracy of Hermolaüs and his associates[2] against Alexander was discovered, it was thought that the accusations of his detractors had an air of probability. They said, namely, that when Hermolaüs put the question to him how he might become a most illustrious man, Callisthenes said: "By killing the most illustrious;" and that in inciting Hermolaüs to the deed he bade him have no fear of the golden couch, but remember that he was approaching a man who was subject to sickness and wounds. And yet not one of the accomplices of Hermolaüs, even in the last extremity, denounced Callisthenes. Nay, even Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, says that the youths confessed under torture that they had made this attempt of themselves, and that no one else was privy to it. But in a letter written later to Antipater, wherein he accuses Callisthenes also of the crime, he says: "The

4 αἰτιασάμενος, “Οἱ μὲν παῖδες,” φησίν, “ὑπὸ
τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν
ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ
τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας,”
ἄντικρυς ἔν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος
πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο
Καλλισθένης παρ᾽ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐξ
5 Ἡροῦς γεγονώς, ἀνεψιᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους. ἀποθανεῖν
δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα
λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον καὶ
νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἑπτὰ
μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
κριθείη παρόντος Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν αἷς δὲ ἡμέραις
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν
ὑπέρπαχυν γενόμενον καὶ φθειριάσαντα.

LVI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη. Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβῆναι· καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἶπε μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἐστερῆσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα· τὰ δὲ λείψανα τέθριππον κεκοσμημένον λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατεκόμισε.

LVII. Μέλλων δὲ ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ὡς ἑώρα πλήθει λαφύρων τὴν στρατιὰν ἤδη

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 14, 3 f., where other accounts still are mentioned.

youths were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but the sophist I will punish, together with those who sent him to me and those who harbour in their cities men who conspire against my life;" and in these words, at least, he directly reveals a hostility to Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, on account of his relationship, had been reared, being a son of Hero, who was a niece of Aristotle. As to the death of Callisthenes, some say that he was hanged by Alexander's orders, others that he was bound hand and foot and died of sickness, and Chares says that after his arrest he was kept in fetters seven months, that he might be tried before a full council when Aristotle was present, but that about the time when Alexander was wounded in India, he died from obesity and the disease of lice.[1]

LVI. This, however, belongs to a later time.[2] Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was now well on in years, was eagerly desirous of going up to Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said that those Greeks were deprived of a great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.[3] However, he did not long enjoy the king's good will towards him, but died from debility. His obsequies were magnificent, and the army raised in his memory a mound of great circumference and eighty cubits in height. His ashes were carried down to the sea-board on a four-horse chariot splendidly adorned.

LVII. Alexander was now about to cross the mountains into India,[4] and since he saw that his army was by this time cumbered with much booty

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[2] The spring of 327 B.C.

[3] Cf. chapter xxxvii. 4.

[4] In the late spring of 327 B.C.

βαρεῖαν καὶ δυσκίνητον οὖσαν, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συνεσκευασμένων τῶν ἁμαξῶν, πρώτας μὲν ὑπέπρησε 697 *τὰς αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἐκέλευσε καὶ ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνεῖναι πῦρ. καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ βούλευμα μεῖζον ἐφάνη*
2 *καὶ δεινότερον ἢ τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγους μὲν γὰρ ἠνίασεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι βοῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ μετὰ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περιόντα τῆς χρείας αὐτοὶ κατακαίοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος κολαστὴς τῶν πλημμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ Μένανδρόν τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἄρχοντα φρουρίου καταστήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο μένειν, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων βαρβάρων Ὀρσοδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε.*

3 *Προβάτου δὲ τεκόντος ἄρνα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα τιάρας ἔχοντα καὶ διδύμους ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ, βδελυχθεὶς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὓς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπήγετο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὡς οὐ δι' αὑτόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους ταράττοιτο, μὴ τὸ κράτος εἰς ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἄναλκιν ἄνθρωπον ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ περιστήσῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν.*
4 *ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, ὄνομα Πρόξενος, τῇ βασιλικῇ σκηνῇ*

and hard to move, at break of day, after the baggage-waggons had been loaded, he burned first those which belonged to himself and his companions, and then gave orders to set fire to those of the Macedonians. And the planning of the thing turned out to be a larger and more formidable matter than its execution. For it gave annoyance to a few only of the soldiers, while the most of them, with rapturous shouts and war-cries, shared their necessaries with those who were in need of them, and what was superfluous they burned and destroyed with their own hands, thus filling Alexander with zeal and eagerness. Besides, he was already greatly feared, and inexorable in the chastisement of a transgressor. For instance, when a certain Menander, one of his companions, who had been put in command of a garrison, refused to remain there, he put him to death; and Orsodates, a Barbarian who had revolted from him, he shot down with his own hand.

When a sheep yeaned a lamb which had upon its head what looked like a tiara in form and colour, with testicles on either side of it, Alexander was filled with loathing at the portent, and had himself purified by the Babylonians, whom he was accusto take along with him for such purposes; and in conversation with his friends he said that he was not disturbed for his own sake, but for theirs, fearing lest after his death Heaven might devolve his power upon an ignoble and impotent man. However, a better portent occurred and put an end to his dejection. The Macedonian, namely, who was set over those in charge of the royal equipage, Proxenus by name, as he was digging a place for the

χώραν ὀρύττων παρὰ τὸν Ὦξον ποταμὸν ἀνεκάλυψε
πηγὴν ὑγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους·
ἀπαντλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν
ἤδη καὶ διαυγὲς ἔλαιον, οὔτε ὀσμῇ δοκοῦν οὔτε
γεύσει ἐλαίου διαφέρειν, στιλπνότητά τε καὶ
λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ
5 ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μηδὲ ἐλαίας φερούσης. λέγεται
μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὦξον αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον
ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐπιλιπαίνειν.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος
ἡσθεὶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον,
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τοῦτο τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ γεγονότων αὐτῷ τιθέμενος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις
ἐνδόξου μὲν στρατείας, ἐπιπόνου δὲ καὶ χαλεπῆς
τὸ σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο· πόνων γὰρ ἀρωγὴν ἔλαιον
ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι.

LVIII. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ
κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήντησε,
τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορίαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων
καὶ δυσκρασίαι τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀπειργάσαντο
τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμῃ τὴν τύχην
ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμούμενος,
οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὐδὲ
2 ὀχυρὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισιμίθρου
πολιορκῶν πέτραν ἄβατον οὖσαν καὶ ἀπότομον[1]
ἀθυμούντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐρωτῆσαι
τὸν Ὀξυάρτην ποῖός τις αὐτὸς εἴη τὴν ψυχὴν
ὁ Σισιμίθρης. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου δειλότατον
ἀνθρώπων, "Λέγεις σύ γε," φάναι, "τὴν

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[1] ἀπότομον Coraës' correction of the MSS. ἀπρόσβατον, for which Bekker reads ἀπρόσμαχον, after Schaefer. Sintenis[2] suggests ἀπότομον καὶ ἀπρόσβατον.

king's tent along the river Oxus, uncovered a spring of liquid which was oily and fatty; but when the top of it was drawn off, there flowed at once a pure and clear oil, which appeared to differ from olive oil neither in odour nor in flavour, and in smoothness and lustre was altogether the same, and that too though the country produced no olive trees. It is said, indeed, that the Oxus itself also has a very soft water, which gives sleekness to the skin of those who bathe in it. However, that Alexander was marvellously pleased is clear from what he writes to Antipater, where he speaks of this as one of the greatest omens vouchsafed to him from Heaven. The seers, however, held that the omen foreshadowed an expedition which would be glorious, but difficult and toilsome; for oil, they said, was given to men by Heaven as an aid to toil.

LVIII. And so it proved; for he encountered many perils in the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds; but the greatest losses which his army suffered were caused by lack of necessary provisions and severity of weather. Still, he was eager to overcome fortune by boldness and force by valour, and thought nothing invincible for the courageous, and nothing secure for the cowardly. It is said that when he was besieging the citadel of Sisimithres, which was steep and inaccessible, so that his soldiers were disheartened, he asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisimithres himself was in point of spirit. And when Oxyartes replied that he was most cowardly of men, "Thy words mean," said Alexander, "that we

πέτραν ἁλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτῆς
3 οὐκ ὀχυρόν ἐστι." ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐκφοβήσας τὸν Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν. ἑτέρᾳ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ προσβαλὼν τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων παρώρμα, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν τινα καλούμενον προσαγορεύσας, "Ἀλλὰ σοί γε," εἶπεν, "ἀνδραγαθεῖν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν." ἐπεὶ δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν, οὐ
4 μετρίως ἐδήχθη. τῇ δὲ καλουμένῃ Νύσῃ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀκνούντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποταμὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτῇ βαθὺς) ἐπιστάς, "Τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὁ κάκιστος ἐγὼ νεῖν οὐκ ἔμαθον;" καὶ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα περᾶν ἠθέλησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπαύσαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεησόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν ὀφθεὶς ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξέπληξεν αὐτούς· ἔπειτα προσκεφαλαίου τινὸς αὐτῷ κομισθέντος ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα καθίσαι τὸν
5 πρεσβύτατον· Ἄκουφις ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν 698 τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ Ἄκουφις ἠρώτα τί βούλεται ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φίλους. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, "Σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς πέμψαντας ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους," γελάσας ὁ Ἄκουφις, "Ἀλλὰ βέλτιον," εἶπεν, "ἄρξω, βασιλεῦ, τοὺς κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους."

LIX. Ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγεθος, εὔβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα,

can take the citadel, since he who commands it is a weak thing." And indeed he did take the citadel by frightening Sisimithres. Again, after attacking another citadel equally precipitous, he was urging on the younger Macedonians, and addressing one who bore the name of Alexander, said: "It behooves thee, at least, to be a brave man, even for thy name's sake." And when the young man, fighting gloriously, fell, the king was pained beyond measure. And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried: "Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim?" and at once, carrying his shield, he would have tried to cross. And when, after he had put a stop to the fighting, ambassadors came from the beleaguered cities to beg for terms, they were amazed, to begin with, to see him in full armour and without an attendant; and besides, when a cushion was brought him for his use, he ordered the eldest of the ambassadors, Acuphis by name, to take it for his seat. Acuphis, accordingly, astonished at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked what he wished them to do in order to be his friends. "Thy countrymen," said Alexander, "must make thee their ruler, and send me a hundred of their best men." At this Acuphis laughed, and said: "Nay, O King, I shall rule better if I send to thee the worst men rather than the best."[1]

LIX. Taxiles, we are told, had a realm in India as large as Egypt, with good pasturage, too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits. He

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 2, 1–3.

σοφὸς δέ τις ἀνὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
ἀσπασάμενος, "Τί δεῖ πολέμων," φάναι, "καὶ
μάχης ἡμῖν, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτε
ὕδωρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφῖξαι μήτε τροφὴν
ἀναγκαίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμάχεσθαι
2 νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χρήμασι
καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μέν εἰμι κρείττων,
ἕτοιμος εὖ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἥττων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν
ἔχειν εὖ παθών." ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ
δεξιωσάμενος αὐτόν, "Ἦ που νομίζεις," ἔφη,
"δίχα μάχης ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ
τοιούτων λόγων καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ' οὐδέν
σοι πλέον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ
διαμαχοῦμαι ταῖς χάρισιν, ὥς μου χρηστὸς ὢν
3 μὴ περιγένῃ." λαβὼν δὲ δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ δοὺς
πλείονα τέλος χίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ
προέπιεν. ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἰσχυρῶς
ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν
ἡμερωτέρως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μισθοφοροῦντες
ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνοντες
καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποίουν,
σπεισάμενος ἔν τινι πόλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπιόντας
4 ἐν ὁδῷ λαβὼν ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῦτο
τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως
καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὥσπερ κηλὶς πρόσεστιν.
οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι
πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τούς τε προστιθεμένους
τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους
δήμους ἀφιστάντες. διὸ καὶ τούτων
πολλοὺς ἐκρέμασε.

was also a wise man in his way, and after he had greeted Alexander, said: "Why must we war and fight with one another, Alexander, if thou art not come to rob us of water or of necessary sustenance, the only things for which men of sense are obliged to fight obstinately? As for other wealth and possessions, so-called, if I am thy superior therein, I am ready to confer favours; but if thine inferior, I will not object to thanking you for favours conferred." At this Alexander was delighted, and clasping the king's hand, said: "Canst thou think, pray, that after such words of kindness our interview is to end without a battle? Nay, thou shalt not get the better of me; for I will contend against thee and fight to the last with my favours, that thou mayest not surpass me in generosity." So, after receiving many gifts and giving many more, at last he lavished upon him a thousand talents in coined money. This conduct greatly vexed Alexander's friends, but it made many of the Barbarians look upon him more kindly.

The best fighters among the Indians, however, were mercenaries, and they used to go about to the different cities and defend them sturdily, and wrought much harm to Alexander's cause. Therefore, after he had made a truce with them in a certain city and allowed them to depart, he fell upon them as they marched and slew them all. And this act adheres like a stain to his military career; in all other instances he waged war according to usage and like a king. The philosophers, too, no less than the mercenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He therefore took many of these also and hanged them.

LX. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστο-
λαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ
τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ῥέοντος ἀντι-
πόρους ἱστάντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἀεὶ τὸν Πῶρον
ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ'
ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ πολύν, ἐθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους
2 μὴ φοβεῖσθαι· νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου
λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἱππεῖς δὲ τοὺς κρατί-
στους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων
διαπερᾶσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα
δὲ ῥαγδαίου μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὄμβρου, πρηστήρων
δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
φερομένων, ὅμως ὁρῶν ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ
συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
νησῖδος ἄρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχ-
3 θαις. τραχὺν δὲ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὑπὸ τοῦ χει-
μῶνος ἐπιόντα καὶ μετέωρον, ἔκρηγμα ποιῆσαι
μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐκείνῃ φέρεσθαι τοῦ
ῥεύματος· αὐτοὺς δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ
βεβαίως, ἅτε δὴ συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύ-
μενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτόν· "Ὦ
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἆρά γε πιστεύσαιτε ἂν ἡλίκους ὑπο-
μένω κινδύνους ἕνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοξίας;"
4 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὀνησίκριτος εἴρηκεν, αὐτὸς δέ
φησι τὰς σχεδίας ἀφέντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν
ὅπλων τὸ ἔκρηγμα διαβαίνειν ἄχρι μαστῶν βρε-
χομένους, διαβὰς δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἴκοσι σταδίους
προϊππεῦσαι, λογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς

LX. Of his campaign against Porus[1] he himself has given an account in his letters. He says, namely, that the river Hydaspes flowed between the two camps, and that Porus stationed his elephants on the opposite bank and kept continual watch of the crossing. He himself, accordingly, day by day caused a great din and tumult to be made in his camp, and thereby accustomed the Barbarians not to be alarmed. Then, on a dark and stormy night, he took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks. But the Hydaspes, made violent by the storm and dashing high against its bank, made a great breach in it, and a large part of the stream was setting in that direction; and the shore between the two currents gave his men no sure footing, since it was broken and slippery. And here it was that he is said to have cried: "O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?" This, however, is the story of Onesicritus; Alexander himself says that they left their rafts and crossed the breach with their armour on, wading breast-high in water, and that after he had crossed he led his horsemen twenty furlongs in advance of his infantry, calculating that, in case the enemy attacked with

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[1] See Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9–19. It was in the spring of 326 B.C.

ἵπποις προσβάλοιεν, πολὺ κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κινοῖεν
τὴν φάλαγγα, φθήσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτῷ 69
5 προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ
ἱππέων χιλίους καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἑξήκοντα συμπεσόντα
τρεψάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἅρματα λαβεῖν
ἅπαντα, τῶν δ' ἱππέων ἀνελεῖν τετρακοσίους.
οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον ὡς αὐτὸς
εἴη διαβεβηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπιέναι μετὰ πάσης
τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς
διαβαίνουσι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέλιπε. φοβηθεὶς
δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς
μὲν ἐνσεῖσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρας, Κοῖνον δὲ τῷ
6 δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεῦσαι. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς
ἑκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ
συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους, ὅθεν ἤδη τὴν
μάχην ἀναμεμιγμένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὀγδόης ὥρας
ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς
μάχης ποιητὴς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἴρηκεν.

Οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὁμολογοῦσι
τὸν Πῶρον ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν σπιθαμῇ
τὸ μῆκος ἱππότου μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν πρὸς τὸν
ἐλέφαντα συμμετρίᾳ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον
7 τοῦ σώματος· καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας·
σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν
τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένου μὲν ἔτι θυμῷ τοὺς
προσμαχομένους ἀμυνόμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς
δὲ ᾔσθετο βελῶν πλήθει καὶ τραυμάτων κάμνοντα,
δείσας μὴ περιρρυῇ, τοῖς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς
γῆν ὑφῆκε πρᾴως ἑαυτόν, τῇ δὲ προνομαίᾳ λαμ-

their cavalry, he would be far superior to them, and in case they moved up their men-at-arms, his infantry would join him in good season. And one of these suppositions came to pass. For after routing a thousand of the enemy's horsemen and sixty of their chariots which engaged him, he captured all the chariots, and slew four hundred of the horsemen. And now Porus, thus led to believe that Alexander himself had crossed the river, advanced upon him with all his forces, except the part he left behind to impede the crossing of the remaining Macedonians. But Alexander, fearing the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy, himself assaulted their left wing, and ordered Coenus to attack their right. Both wings having been routed, the vanquished troops retired in every case upon the elephants in the centre, and were there crowded together with them, and from this point on the battle was waged at close quarters, and it was not until the eighth hour that the enemy gave up. Such then, is the account of the battle which the victor himself has given in his letters.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a span[1] high, and that the size and majesty of his body made his elephant seem as fitting a mount for him as a horse for a horseman. And yet his elephant was of the largest size; and it showed remarkable intelligence and solicitude for the king, bravely defending him and beating back his assailants while he was still in full vigour, and when it perceived that its master was worn out with a multitude of missiles and wounds, fearing lest he should fall off, it knelt softly on the ground, and with its proboscis

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[1] Six feet and three inches.

βάνων ἀτρέμα τῶν δορατίων ἕκαστον ἐξῄρει τοῦ
8 *σώματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ληφθέντα τὸν* Πῶρον *ὁ* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἠρώτα πῶς αὐτῷ χρήσηται,* "Βασιλικῶς," *εἶπε· προσπυθομένου δὲ μή τι ἄλλο λέγει,* "Πάντα," *εἶπεν,* "*ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῶς.*" *οὐ μόνον οὖν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ὧν ἐβασίλευε, σατράπην καλούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν τοὺς*[1] *αὐτονόμους καταστρεψάμενος, ἐν ᾗ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας ἀξιολόγους, κώμας δὲ παμπόλλας εἶναί φασιν· ἄλλην δὲ τρὶς τοσαύτην ἧς* Φίλιππόν *τινα τῶν ἑταίρων σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν.*

LXI. Ἐκ *δὲ τῆς πρὸς* Πῶρον *μάχης καὶ ὁ* Βουκεφάλας *ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπευόμενος, ὡς δὲ* Ὀνησίκριτος, *διὰ γῆρας ὑπέρπονος γενόμενος· τριάκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. ἐδήχθη δ' ἰσχυρῶς* Ἀλέξανδρος, *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἀποβεβληκέναι νομίζων· καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν* Ὑδάσπην Βουκεφαλίαν *προσηγόρευσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ κύνα* Περίταν *ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ στεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον. τοῦτο δὲ* Σωτίων *φησὶ* Ποτάμωνος *ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ* Λεσβίου.

LXII. Τοὺς *μέντοι* Μακεδόνας *ὁ πρὸς* Πῶρον *ἀγὼν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τῆς* Ἰνδικῆς *ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκεῖνον*

[1] *τοὺς* with Bekker, after Coraës : *καὶ τούς.*

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 19, 4 f.

[2] Alexander carried his conquests from the Indus to the

gently took each spear and drew it out of his body. Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: "Like a king"; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: "All things are included in my 'like a king.'" Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples whom he subdued, in which there are said to have been fifteen nations, five thousand cities of considerable size, and a great multitude of villages. He subdued other territory also thrice as large as this and appointed Philip, one of his companions, satrap over it.

LXI. After the battle with Porus, too, Bucephalas died,—not at once, but some time afterwards,—as most writers say, from wounds for which he was under treatment, but according to Onesicritus, from old age, having become quite worn out;[1] for he was thirty years old when he died. His death grieved Alexander mightily, who felt that he had lost nothing less than a comrade and friend; he also built a city in his memory on the banks of the Hydaspes and called it Bucephalia. It is said, too, that when he lost a dog also, named Peritas, which had been reared by him and was loved by him, he founded a city and gave it the dog's name. Sotion says he heard this from Potamon the Lesbian.

LXII. As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India.[2] For having had

Hyphasis (Arrian, *Anab.* v. 25), subduing the Punjab. It was now September, 326 B.C.

ὠσάμενοι δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις ἱππεῦσι
παραταξάμενον, ἀντέστησαν ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περᾶσαι ποταμόν,
εὖρος μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι
πυνθανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὀργυιὰς ἑκατόν, ἀντι-
πέρας δὲ τὰς ὄχθας ἀποκεκρύφθαι πλήθεσιν
2 ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων. ἐλέγοντο γὰρ
ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἱπποτῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ πεζῶν,
ἅρματα δὲ ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας
ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαριτῶν καὶ Πραι-
σίων βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν
περὶ ταῦτα. Ἀνδρόκοττος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ
βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας
ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἑξήκοντα τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενος.

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὀργῆς
αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθείρξας ἔκειτο, χάριν 70
οὐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις εἰ μὴ περά-
σειε τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ' ἐξομολόγησιν ἥττης τιθέ-
μενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὡς δὲ οἵ τε φίλοι τὰ εἰκότα
παρηγοροῦντες αὐτὸν οἵ τε στρατιῶται κλαυ-
θμῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἱκέτευον,
ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀνεζεύγνυε, πολλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπα-
4 τηλὰ καὶ σοφιστικὰ μηχανώμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὅπλα
μείζονα καὶ φάτνας ἵππων καὶ χαλινοὺς βαρυ-
τέρους κατασκευάσας ἀπέλιπέ τε καὶ διέρριψεν
ἱδρύσατο δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, οὓς μέχρι νῦν οἱ
Πραισίων βασιλεῖς διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ

all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And there was no boasting in these reports. For Androcottus, who reigned there not long afterwards, made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India.

At first, then, Alexander shut himself up in his tent from displeasure and wrath and lay there, feeling no gratitude for what he had already achieved unless he should cross the Ganges, nay, counting a retreat a confession of defeat. But his friends gave him fitting consolation, and his soldiers crowded about his door and besought him with loud cries and wailing, until at last he relented and began to break camp, resorting to many deceitful and fallacious devices for the enhancement of his fame. For instance, he had armour prepared that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down. Moreover, he erected altars for the gods, which down to the present time are revered by the kings of the Praesii when they cross the river, and on them they offer

θύουσιν Ἑλληνικὰς *θυσίας*. Ἀνδρόκοττος *δὲ μειράκιον ὢν αὐτὸν* Ἀλέξανδρον *εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὕστερον ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ πράγματα λαβεῖν* Ἀλέξανδρος, *μισουμένου τε καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθηρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.*

LXIII. Ἐντεῦθεν *ὁρμήσας* Ἀλέξανδρος *τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ πορθμεῖα κωπήρη καὶ σχεδίας πηξάμενος, ἐκομίζετο τοῖς ποταμοῖς ὑποφερόμενος σχολαίως. ὁ δὲ πλοῦς οὐκ ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλεμος, προσβάλλων δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀποβαίνων ἐχειροῦτο πάντα. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις* Μαλλοῖς, *οὕς φασιν* Ἰνδῶν *μαχιμωτάτους γενέσθαι, μικρὸν ἐδέησε*
2 *κατακοπῆναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ κλίμακος τεθείσης ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἥ τε κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφισταμένων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς κάτωθεν, ὀλιγοστὸς ὢν συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὀρθὸς ἔστη.*
3 *τιναξαμένου δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἔδοξαν οἱ βάρβαροι σέλας τι καὶ φάσμα πρὸ τοῦ σώματος φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔφυγον καὶ διεσκεδάσθησαν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν μετὰ δυεῖν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ τῶν ὅπλων συνετίτρωσκον ἀμυνόμενον, εἷς δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στὰς ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τόξου βέλος οὕτως εὔτονον καὶ βίαιον ὥστε τὸν θώρακα διακόψαν ἐμπαγῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθὸν ὀστέοις.*

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[1] Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus (Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 1).

sacrifices in the Hellenic manner. Androcottus, when he was a stripling, saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth.

LXIII. From thence, being eager to behold the ocean, and having built many passage-boats equipped with oars, and many rafts, he was conveyed down the rivers[1] in a leisurely course. And yet his voyage was not made without effort nor even without war, but he would land and assault the cities on his route and subdue everything. However, in attacking the people called Malli, who are said to have been the most warlike of the Indians, he came within a little of being cut down. For after dispersing the inhabitants from the walls with missiles, he was the first to mount upon the wall by a scaling ladder, and since the ladder was broken to pieces and he was exposed to the missiles of the Barbarians who stood along the wall below, almost alone as he was, he crouched and threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and by good fortune alighted on his feet. Then, as he brandished his arms, the Barbarians thought that a shape of gleaming fire played in front of his person. Therefore at first they scattered and fled; but when they saw that he was accompanied by only two of his guards, they ran upon him, and some tried to wound him by thrusting their swords and spears through his armour as he defended himself, while one, standing a little further off, shot an arrow at him with such accuracy and force that it cut its way through his breastplate and fastened itself in his ribs at the breast. Such was

4 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα
κάμψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν ἐπέδραμε βαρβαρικὴν
μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Λιμναῖος
προέστησαν· ὧν πληγέντων ἑκατέρων ὁ μὲν
ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δὲ ἀντεῖχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον
Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέκτεινεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα
πολλὰ λαβών, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπέρῳ κατὰ τοῦ
τραχήλου, προσήρεισε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων
5 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων
περιχυθέντων ἁρπασθεὶς ἀναίσθητος ἤδη
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐκομίζετο. καὶ
παραυτίκα μὲν ὡς τεθνεῶτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ· χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν
ὀϊστὸν ἐκπρισάντων ξύλινον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ
θώρακος οὕτω μόλις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν
ἐκκοπὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς ἀκίδος ἐνδεδυκυίας ἑνὶ τῶν
ὀστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριῶν δακτύλων
6 εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων. διὸ ταῖς
λιποθυμίαις ἔγγιστα θανάτου συνελαυνόμενος
ἐξαιρουμένης αὐτῆς, ὅμως ἀνέλαβε. καὶ διαφυγὼν
τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτι δὲ ἀσθενὴς ὢν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον
ἐν διαίτῃ καὶ θεραπείαις ἔχων αὐτόν, ἔξω θορυβοῦντας
ὡς ᾔσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τοὺς
Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἱμάτιον προῆλθε. καὶ θύσας
τοῖς θεοῖς αὖθις ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεκομίζετο χώραν
τε πολλὴν καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καταστρεφόμενος.

LXIV. Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπείσαντας ἀποστῆναι καὶ κακὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις

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[1] Leonnatus, according to Arrian, vi. 10, 2.

the force of the blow that Alexander recoiled and sank to his knees, whereupon his assailant ran at him with drawn scimitar, while Peucestas and Limnaeus[1] defended him. Both of them were wounded, and Limnaeus was killed; but Peucestas held out, and at last Alexander killed the Barbarian. But he himself received many wounds, and at last was smitten on the neck with a cudgel, and leaned against the wall, his eyes still fixed upon his foes. At this instant his Macedonians flocked about him, caught him up, already unconscious of what was going on about him, and carried him to his tent. And straightway a report that he was dead prevailed in the camp; but when with much difficulty and pains they had sawn off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and had thus succeeded at last in removing the king's breastplate, they came to the excision of the arrow-head, which was buried in one of the ribs. We are told, moreover, that it was three fingers broad and four long. Its removal, therefore, threw the king into swoons and brought him to death's door, but nevertheless he recovered. And after he was out of danger, though he was still weak and kept himself for a long time under regimen and treatment, perceiving from their tumult at his door that his Macedonians were yearning to see him, he took his cloak and went out to them. And after sacrificing to the gods he went on board ship again and dropped down the river, subduing much territory and great cities as he went.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise

καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔβαλεν αὐτοῖς
ἄπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινάμενον
πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐφεξῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους· 70
2 ἕνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσε κρίνειν. ὁ μὲν
οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον οἴεται τοὺς ζῶντας
εἶναι πλείονας ἢ τοὺς τεθνηκότας, ἔφη τοὺς ζῶντας·
οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνηκότας. ὁ δὲ
δεύτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλατταν μείζονα
τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν γῆν· ταύτης γὰρ μέρος
εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποῖόν ἐστι
ζῷον πανουργότατον, “Ὃ μέχρι νῦν,” εἶπεν,
3 “ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔγνωκεν.” ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνακρινόμενος
τίνι λογισμῷ τὸν Σάββαν ἀπέστησεν,
ἀπεκρίνατο, “Καλῶς ζῆν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ
καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν.” ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον
οἴεται τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὴν νύκτα προτέραν
γεγονέναι, “Τὴν ἡμέραν,” εἶπεν, “ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ·”
καὶ προσεπεῖπεν οὗτος, θαυμάσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως,
ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς
4 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν οὖν τὸν
ἕκτον ἠρώτα πῶς ἄν τις φιληθείη μάλιστα· “Ἂν
κράτιστος ὤν,” ἔφη, “μὴ φοβερὸς ᾖ.” τῶν δὲ
λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἄν τις ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο θεός, “Εἴ τι πράξειεν,” εἶπεν,
“ὃ πρᾶξαι δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἔστιν·” ὁ δὲ περὶ
ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἰσχυρότερον, ἀπεκρίνατο
5 τὴν ζωὴν τοσαῦτα κακὰ φέρουσαν. ὁ δὲ
τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἀνθρώπῳ καλῶς ἔχον ζῆν,
“Μέχρι οὗ μὴ νομίζει τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἄμεινον.”
οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστὴν
ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἕτερον ἑτέρου
χεῖρον εἰρηκέναι φήσαντος “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “σὺ

in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accordingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or the dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. The second, being asked whether the earth or the sea produced larger animals, said the earth did, since the sea was but a part of the earth. The third, being asked what animal was most cunning, said: "That which up to this time man has not discovered." The fourth, when asked why he had induced Sabbas to revolt, replied: "Because I wished him either to live nobly or to die nobly." The fifth, being asked which, in his opinion, was older, day or night, replied: "Day, by one day"; and he added, upon the king expressing amazement, that hard questions must have hard answers. Passing on, then, to the sixth, Alexander asked how a man could be most loved; "If," said the philosopher, "he is most powerful, and yet does not inspire fear." Of the three remaining, he who was asked how one might become a god instead of man, replied: "By doing something which a man cannot do"; the one who was asked which was the stronger, life or death, answered: "Life, since it supports so many ills." And the last, asked how long it were well for a man to live, answered: "Until he does not regard death as better than life." So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. "Well, then," said Alexander, "thou shalt

πρῶτος ἀποθανῇ τοιαῦτα κρίνων." "Οὐκ ἄν γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ σὺ ψευδῆ φήσας πρῶτον ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον κάκιστα."

LXV. Τούτους *μὲν οὖν ἀφῆκε δωρησάμενος· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῶντας ἔπεμψεν* Ὀνησίκριτον, *ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ* Ὀνησίκριτος *ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν* Διογένει *τῷ* Κυνικῷ *συνεσχολακότων.*
2 *καί φησι τὸν μὲν* Καλανὸν *ὑβριστικῶς πάνυ καὶ τραχέως κελεύειν ἀποδύντα τὸν χιτῶνα γυμνὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν λόγων· ἄλλως δὲ οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδ' εἰ παρὰ τοῦ* Διὸς *ἀφῖκται· τὸν δὲ* Δάνδαμιν *πρᾳότερον εἶναι, καὶ διακούσαντα περὶ* Σωκράτους *καὶ* Πυθαγόρου *καὶ* Διογένους *εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυεῖς μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι βεβιω-*
3 *κέναι. ἄλλοι δέ φασι τὸν* Δάνδαμιν *οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον·* "Τίνος *χάριν ὁ* Ἀλέξανδρος *ὁδὸν τοσαύτην δεῦρ' ἦλθε;" τὸν μέντοι* Καλανὸν *ἔπεισεν ὁ* Ταξίλης *ἐλθεῖν πρὸς* Ἀλέξανδρον. *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ* Σφίνης· *ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ'* Ἰνδικὴν *γλῶτταν τῷ* Καλὲ *προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ* Χαίρειν *τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἠσπάζετο,* Καλανὸς *ὑπὸ τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτον δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ* Ἀλε-
4 *ξάνδρῳ προθέσθαι. καταβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ξηρὰν καὶ κατεσκληκυῖαν ἐπάτησε τὸ ἄκρον· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἓν πιεσθεῖσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρθη μέρεσι. καὶ τοῦτο περιϊὼν ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπιστὰς κατέσχε καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἠρέ-*

die first for giving such a verdict." "That cannot be, O King," said the judge, "unless thou falsely saidst that thou wouldst put to death first him who answered worst."

LXV. These philosophers, then, he dismissed with gifts; but to those who were in the highest repute and lived quietly by themselves he sent Onesicritus, asking them to pay him a visit. Now, Onesicritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the Cynic. And he tells us that Calanus very harshly and insolently bade him strip off his tunic and listen naked to what he had to say, otherwise he would not converse with him, not even if he came from Zeus; but he says that Dandamis was gentler, and that after hearing fully about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, he remarked that the men appeared to him to have been of good natural parts but to have passed their lives in too much awe of the laws. Others, however, say that the only words uttered by Dandamis were these: "Why did Alexander make such a long journey hither?" Calanus, nevertheless, was persuaded by Taxiles to pay a visit to Alexander. His real name was Sphines, but because he greeted those whom he met with "Cale," the Indian word of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all round the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still.

μησεν. ἐβούλετο δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἔνδειξις εἶναι τοῦ τὰ μέσα δεῖν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέζειν καὶ μὴ μακρὰν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

LXVI. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θά-
λατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἑπτὰ χρόνον ἀνάλωσεν.
ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἀνέ-
πλευσε πρὸς νῆσον ἣν Σκιλλοῦστιν αὐτὸς ὠνό-
μασεν, ἕτεροι δὲ Ψιλτοῦκιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποβὰς
ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπεῖδε τοῦ πελα-
γους καὶ τῆς παραλίας ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν. εἶτα
ἐπευξάμενος μηδένα μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερ-
2 βῆναι τοὺς ὅρους τῆς στρατείας ἀνέστρεφε. καὶ 702
τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκέλευσε περιπλεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν ἐχούσας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδεί-
ξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον· αὐτὸς δὲ
πεζῇ δι' Ὠρειτῶν πορευόμενος εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπο-
ρίαν προήχθη καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν,
ὥστε τῆς μαχίμου δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον
ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν. καίτοι δώδεκα μὲν
μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοί, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν εἰς μυρίους
3 καὶ πεντακισχιλίους. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσοι χαλεπαὶ
καὶ δίαιται πονηραὶ καὶ καύματα ξηρὰ καὶ
πλείστους ὁ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἄσπορον χώραν
ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῆ
πρόβατα κεκτημένων, ἃ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἰχθῦς
εἰθισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηρὰν εἶχε
καὶ δυσώδη. μόλις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξήκοντα
ταύτην διελθὼν καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἁψάμενος εὐ-
θὺς ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἦν πᾶσι, τῶν ἔγγιστα σατραπῶν
καὶ βασιλέων παρασκευασάντων.

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[1] In midsummer of 325 B.C.

[2] It is Cilluta in Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 19, 3).

The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.

LXVI. His descent of the rivers to the sea consumed seven months' time. And after emerging with his fleet into the ocean,[1] he sailed out to an island to which he himself gave the name of Scillustis, others that of Psiltucis.[2] Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, and studied the nature of the sea and of all the sea-coast that was accessible. Then, after praying that no man after him might pass beyond the bounds of his expedition, he turned to go back. His fleet he ordered to go round by sea, keeping India on the right; Nearchus was appointed admiral of the fleet, Onesicritus its chief-pilot. But he himself proceeded by land through the country of the Oreites, where he was reduced to the direst straits and lost a multitude of men, so that not even the fourth part of his fighting force was brought back from India. And yet his infantry had once numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry fifteen thousand. But grievous diseases, wretched food, parching heats, and, worst of all, famine destroyed them, since they traversed an untilled country of men who dragged out a miserable existence, who possessed but few sheep and those of a miserable sort, since the sea-fish which they ate made their flesh unsavoury and rank. It was with difficulty, then, that Alexander passed through this country in sixty days; but as soon as he reached Gedrosia he had all things in abundance, for the nearest satraps and princes had provided them.

LXVII. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν
ἐξώρμησε κώμῳ χρώμενος ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διὰ
τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέδην
ἐκόμιζον ὀκτώ, μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης
ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πεπηγυίας εὐωχούμενον
συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· ἅμαξαι
δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἁλουργοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις
περιβολαίοις, αἱ δ' ὕλης ἀεὶ προσφάτου καὶ
χλωρᾶς σκιαζόμεναι κλάδοις, εἵποντο τοὺς ἄλλους
ἄγουσαι φίλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐστεφανωμένους
2 καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δ' ἂν οὐ πέλτην, οὐ
κράνος, οὐ σάρισαν, ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ῥυτοῖς καὶ
θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται
βαπτίζοντες ἐκ πίθων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων
ἀλλήλοις προέπινον, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν ἅμα
καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλὴ δὲ μοῦσα
συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ καὶ
3 βακχείας γυναικῶν κατεῖχε πάντα τόπον. τῷ δὲ
ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο
καὶ παιδιὰ βακχικῆς ὕβρεως, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος
αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαραπέμποντος τὸν κῶμον.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκε τῆς Γεδρωσίας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, αὖθις
4 ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν πανηγυρίζων. λέγεται
δὲ μεθύοντα αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν,
τὸν δὲ ἐρώμενον Βαγώαν χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ
κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσαι
παρ' αὐτόν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας
κροτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν φιλῆσαι κελεύοντας, ἄχρι οὗ
περιβαλὼν κατεφίλησεν.

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[1] According to Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 28, 1 f), this bacchanalian procession through Carmania rests on no credible authority.

LXVII. Accordingly, after refreshing his forces here, he set out and marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout. He himself was conveyed slowly along by eight horses, while he feasted day and night continuously with his companions on a dais built upon a lofty and conspicuous scaffolding of oblong shape; and waggons without number followed, some with purple and embroidered canopies, others protected from the sun by boughs of trees which were kept fresh and green, conveying the rest of his friends and commanders, who were all garlanded and drinking. Not a shield was to be seen, not a helmet, not a spear, but along the whole march with cups and drinking-horns and flagons the soldiers kept dipping wine from huge casks and mixing-bowls and pledging one another, some as they marched along, others lying down; while pipes and flutes, stringed instruments and song, and revelling cries of women, filled every place with abundant music. Then, upon this disordered and straggling procession there followed also the sports of bacchanalian license, as though Bacchus himself were present and conducting the revel.[1] Moreover, when he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held high festival. We are told, too, that he was once viewing some contests in singing and dancing, being well heated with wine, and that his favourite, Bagoas, won the prize for song and dance, and then, all in his festal array, passed through the theatre and took his seat by Alexander's side; at sight of which the Macedonians clapped their hands and loudly bade the king kiss the victor, until at last he threw his arms about him and kissed him tenderly.

LXVIII. Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάν-
των πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς καὶ διακούσας τὰ περὶ
τὸν πλοῦν, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεύσας κατὰ τὸν
Εὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἶτα περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν
καὶ τὴν Λιβύην παρακομισθεὶς διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρα-
κλείων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. καὶ
πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ
συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται πανταχόθεν.
2 ἡ δὲ ἄνω στρατεία χαλεπὴ γενομένη καὶ τὸ περὶ
Μαλλοὺς τραῦμα καὶ ἡ φθορὰ πολλὴ λεχθεῖσα
τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπιστίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τά τε
ὑπήκοα πρὸς ἀποστάσεις ἐπῆρε καὶ τοῖς στρατη-
γοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν[1] πολλὴν καὶ πλεονε-
ξίαν καὶ ὕβριν ἐνεποίησε· καὶ ὅλως διέδραμε
3 σάλος ἁπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός. ὅπου καὶ
πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Ὀλυμπιὰς καὶ Κλεοπάτρα
στασιάσασαι διείλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, Ὀλυμπιὰς
μὲν Ἤπειρον, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παρα-
λαβοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος βέλ-
τιον ἔφη βεβουλεῦσθαι τὴν μητέρα· Μακεδόνας
γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι βασιλευομένους ὑπὸ
γυναικός.

Διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὖθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
ἔπεμψεν, ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἅπασαν ἐγνωκὼς
τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαζε τοὺς 70
4 πονηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἀβουλήτου
παίδων ἕνα μὲν Ὀξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε
σαρίσῃ διελάσας, Ἀβουλήτου δὲ μηδὲν τῶν
ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τρισχίλια
τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντος, ἐκέ-

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[1] ἀδικίαν Bekker reads ἀκηδίαν (*indifference*) with a Munich MS. (M.).

LXVIII. Here Nearchus came up to meet him, and Alexander was so delighted to hear of his voyage that he eagerly desired to sail down the Euphrates himself with a large fleet,[1] and then, after circumnavigating Arabia and Africa, to enter the Mediterranean by way of the pillars of Heracles. And vessels of every sort were built for him at Thapsacus, and sailors and pilots were assembled from all parts. But the increasing difficulties of his march back, his wound among the Malli, and the losses in his army, which were reported to be heavy, led men to doubt his safe return, inclined subject peoples to revolt, and bred great injustice, rapacity, and insolence in the generals and satraps whom he had appointed. In a word, restlessness and a desire for change spread everywhere. For even against Antipater, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction, and had divided his realm between them, Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. When he heard of this, Alexander said that his mother had made the better choice; for the Macedonians would not submit to be reigned over by a woman.

For these reasons he sent Nearchus back to the sea,[2] determined to fill all the regions along the sea with wars, while he himself, marching down from Upper Asia, chastised those of his commanders who had done wrong. One of the sons of Abuletes, Oxyartes, he slew with his own hand, running him through with a spear; and when Abuletes failed to furnish him with the necessary provisions, but brought him instead three thousand talents in coin, Alexander

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[1] It was after his return to Persepolis that this desire seized him (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 1, 1).

[2] Early in 324 B.C.

λευσε τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐγεύοντο, φήσας, "Τί οὖν ὄφελος ἡμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς;" καθεῖρξε τὸν Ἀβουλήτην.

LXIX. Ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ
νόμισμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς,
ὁσάκις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκοιντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν
ἑκάστῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν ἐνίους μὴ
πολλάκις, Ὦχον δὲ μηδὲ ἅπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι,
διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς
2 πατρίδος ἑαυτόν. ἔπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὑρὼν
διορωρυγμένον ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα,
καίτοι Πελλαῖος ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελήσας,
ὄνομα Πολύμαχος. τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν
ἀναγνοὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι
γράμμασιν. εἶχε δὲ οὕτως· "Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις
εἶ καὶ ὅθεν ἥκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἥξεις, οἶδα, ἐγὼ
Κῦρος εἰμὶ ὁ Πέρσαις κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.
μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης μοι ταύτης γῆς φθονήσῃς ἣ
3 τοὐμὸν σῶμα περικαλύπτει." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῷ
λαβόντα τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μεταβολήν.

Ὁ δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς ᾐτήσατο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ κομισθεὶς ἵππῳ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιοῦτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεί-

ordered the money to be thrown to his horses. And when they would not touch it, "Of what use to us, then," he cried, "is the provision you have made?" and threw Abuletes into prison.

LXIX. In Persia, to begin with, he distributed the money among the women, just as their kings were accustomed, as often as they came into Persia, to give each one of them a gold piece. And for this reason, it is said, some of their kings did not come often into Persia, and Ochus not even once, being so penurious as to expatriate himself. In the second place, having discovered that the tomb of Cyrus had been rifled, he put to death the perpetrator of the deed, although the culprit was a prominent Macedonian native of Pella, by name Polymachus. After reading the inscription upon this tomb, he ordered it to be repeated below in Greek letters. It ran thus: "O man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, for I know that thou wilt come, I am Cyrus, and I won for the Persians their empire. Do not, therefore, begrudge me this little earth which covers my body." These words, then, deeply affected Alexander, who was reminded of the uncertainty and mutability of life.[1]

In Persia, too, Calanus, who had suffered for a little while from intestinal disorder, asked that a funeral pyre might be prepared for him.[2] To this he came on horseback, and after offering prayers, sprinkling himself, and casting some of his hair upon the pyre, he ascended it, greeting the Macedonians who were present, and exhorting them to make that

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 29, 4–8.

[2] The self-sacrifice of Calanus is narrated by Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 3).

νην ἡδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἔφη μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον
4 ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὄψεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν κατακλιθεὶς
καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος οὐκ ἐκινήθη τοῦ
πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ κατεκλίθη σχήματι,
τοῦτο διατηρῶν ἐκαλλιέρησεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ
πατρίῳ νόμῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν. τοῦτο πολλοῖς
ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι
συνὼν ἐποίησε· καὶ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνημεῖον
Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

LXX. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς γενόμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἀγῶνα προὔθηκε καὶ στέφανον ἀκρατοποσίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον πιὼν Πρόμαχος ἄχρι χοῶν τεσσάρων προῆλθε· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ νικητήριον, στέφανον ταλαντιαῖον, ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἷς ἀπέθανον πιόντες, ἰσχυροῦ τῇ μέθῃ κρύους ἐπιγενομένου.

2 Τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων γάμον ἐν Σούσοις ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γυναῖκα τὴν Δαρείου θυγατέρα Στάτειραν, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ἤδη προγεγαμηκότων Μακεδόνων γάμον ἄλλον[1] ἑστιάσας, ἐν ᾧ φασιν ἐννακισχιλίων τῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὄντων ἑκάστῳ χρυσῆν φιάλην πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς δοθῆναι, τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστῶς ἐλαμπρύνατο καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀφειλόντων αὐτὸς διαλύσας, τοῦ παντὸς ἀναλώματος ἐλάσσονος μυρίων ταλάντων ἑκατὸν τριά-

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[1] ἄλλον Bekker, after Coraës: καλὸν with the MSS.

day one of pleasure and revelry with the king, whom, he declared, he should soon see in Babylon. After thus speaking, he lay down and covered his head, nor did he move as the fire approached him, but continued to lie in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself acceptably, as the wise men of his country had done from of old. The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Caesar,[1] at Athens; and the "Indian's Tomb" is shown there to this day.

LXX. But Alexander, after returning from the funeral pyre and assembling many of his friends and officers for supper, proposed a contest in drinking neat wine, the victor to be crowned. Well, then, the one who drank the most, Promachus, got as far as four pitchers;[2] he took the prize, a crown of a talent's worth, but lived only three days afterwards. And of the rest, according to Chares, forty-one died of what they drank, a violent chill having set in after their debauch.

At Susa he brought to pass the marriage of his companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Dareius, Stateira, assigned the noblest women to his noblest men, and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper, to each of whom a golden cup for the libations was given. All the other appointments too, were amazingly splendid, and the host paid himself the debts which his guests owed, the whole outlay amounting to nine thousand

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[1] Augustus Caesar.

[2] The "chous," or *pitcher*, held about three quarts.

3 κοντα ταλάντοις γενομένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντιγένης
ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος ὡς ὀφείλων ἀπεγράψατο ψευδῶς,
καὶ παραγαγών τινα φάσκοντα δεδανεικέναι πρὸς
τὴν τράπεζαν, ἀπέτισε τὸ ἀργύριον, εἶτα ἐφωράθη
ψευδόμενος, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήλασε
τῆς αὐλῆς αὐτὸν καὶ παρείλετο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
ἦν δὲ λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὁ Ἀντιγένης· 704
καὶ ἔτι δὲ νέος ὤν, Φιλίππου πολιορκοῦντος Πέρινθον,
ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ καταπελτικοῦ βέλους
εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχε βουλομένοις ἐξελεῖν
τὸ βέλος οὐδὲ ὑφήκατο πρὶν ὤσασθαι προσμαχόμενος
καὶ κατακλεῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς
4 τὸ τεῖχος. οὐ μετρίως οὖν τότε τὴν ἀτιμίαν
ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ
βαρυθυμίας διαχρησόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο δείσας ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν.

LXXI. Τῶν δὲ παίδων τῶν τρισμυρίων, οὓς
ἀσκουμένους καὶ μανθάνοντας ἀπέλιπε, τοῖς τε
σώμασιν ἀνδρείων φανέντων καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσιν
εὐπρεπῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς μελέταις εὐχέρειαν
καὶ κουφότητα θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδειξαμένων, αὐτὸς
μὲν ἥσθη, τοῖς δὲ Μακεδόσι δυσθυμία παρέστη
καὶ δέος, ὡς ἧττον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως προσέξοντος.
2 διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους
αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὕβριν ἔφασαν
εἶναι καὶ προπηλακισμόν, ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον
εἰς ἅπαντα νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν
αἰσχύνῃ καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς

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[1] Alexander also paid the debts of all his soldiers, amounting to 20,000 talents (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 5, 1–3),

eight hundred and seventy talents.[1] Now Antigenes, the One-eyed, had got himself enrolled as a debtor fraudulently and, on producing somebody who affirmed that he had made a loan to him at the bank, the money was paid over; then his fraud was discovered, and the king, in anger, drove him from his court and deprived him of his command. Antigenes, however, was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls. Accordingly, he could not endure with any complacency the disgrace that now fell upon him, but was evidently going to make away with himself from grief and despondency. So the king, fearing this, put away his wrath and ordered him to keep the money.

LXXI. The thirty thousand boys whom he had left behind him under instruction and training[2] were now so vigorous in their bodies and so comely in their looks, and showed besides such admirable dexterity and agility in their exercises, that Alexander himself was delighted; his Macedonians, however, were filled with dejection and fear, thinking that their king would now pay less regard to them. Therefore when he also sent the weak and maimed among them down to the sea-board, they said it was insult and abuse, after using men up in every kind of service, now to put them away in disgrace and cast them back upon their native cities and their parents, no longer

unless this is the donation which Plutarch has here erroneously connected with the great wedding feast. Cf. Athenaeus, xii. pp. 538 ff.

[2] Cf. chapter xlvii. 3.

γονεῦσιν, οὐ τοιούτους παραλαβόντα. πάντας
οὖν ἐκέλευον ἀφιέναι καὶ πάντας ἀχρήστους
νομίζειν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τοὺς νέους τούτους
πυρριχιστάς, σὺν οἷς ἐπιὼν κατακτήσεται τὴν
3 οἰκουμένην. πρὸς ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς
ὀργήν, ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε
Πέρσαις καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους
καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους, ὑφ' ὧν ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν παραπεμπόμενον,
αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπειργομένους καὶ προπηλακιζομένους,
ἐταπεινοῦντο· καὶ διδόντες λόγον
εὕρισκον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας
4 καὶ ὀργῆς. τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες
ἐβάδιζον ἄνοπλοι καὶ μονοχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν,
μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κλαυθμοῦ παραδιδόντες
ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χρήσασθαι κελεύοντες ὡς κακοῖς καὶ
ἀχαρίστοις. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίετο, καίπερ ἤδη
μαλασσόμενος. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας
δύο καὶ νύκτας οὕτω προσεστῶτες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι
καὶ κοίρανον ἀνακαλοῦντες ἐκαρτέρησαν.
5 τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος οἰκτροὺς
καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον· εἶτα
μεμψάμενος μέτρια καὶ προσαγορεύσας φιλανθρώπως
ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἀχρήστους δωρησάμενος
μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ γράψας πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον
ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις προεδρίαν
ἔχοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καθέζοιντο. τῶν δὲ
τεθνηκότων τοὺς παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς ὄντας ἐμμίσθους
ἐποίησεν.

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[1] The account of the quarrel between Alexander and the Macedonians in Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 8–11) differs materially from that of Plutarch.

the men they were when he took them. Accordingly, they bade him send them all away and hold all his Macedonians of no account, since he had these young war-dancers, with whom he could go on and conquer the world.[1] At these words of theirs Alexander was displeased, and heaped much abuse upon them in his anger, and drove them away, and committed his watches to Persians, and out of these constituted his body-guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these, while they themselves were excluded from him and treated with contumely, they were humbled; and when they reasoned the matter out they found that they had been almost mad with jealousy and rage. So finally, after coming to their senses, they went to his tent, without their arms and wearing their tunics only, and with loud cries and lamentations put themselves at his mercy, bidding him deal with them as base and thankless men. But Alexander would not see them, although his heart was softening. And the men would not desist, but for two days and nights persisted in standing thus before his door, weeping and calling upon their master. So on the third day he came forth, and when he saw their piteous and humble plight, wept for some time; then, after chiding them gently and speaking kindly to them, he dismissed those who were past service with magnificent gifts, and wrote to Antipater that at all the public contests and in the theatres they should have the foremost seats and wear garlands. He also ordained that the orphan children of those who had lost their lives in his service should receive their father's pay.[2]

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[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 12.

LXXII. Ὡς δὲ ἧκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διῴκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὐτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφιγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσων· οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβῆ δίαιταν, ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον περὶ ἄριστον γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγὼν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἑφθὸν καὶ ψυκτῆρα μέγαν ἐκπιὼν οἴνου κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἀπέθανε. 2 τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος Ἀλέξανδρος ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς μὲν ἵππους τε κεῖραι πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμιόνους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἀφεῖλε τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον ἰατρὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, αὐλοὺς δὲ κατέπαυσε καὶ μουσικὴν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐξ Ἄμμωνος ἦλθε μαντεία τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἥρωϊ παρακελεύουσα. 3 τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάττων. τοῦτο δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐναγισμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τύμβον δὲ 70 καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι διανοούμενος, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν δαπάνην, ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπον ἐν ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγ-

LXXII. When he came to Ecbatana in Media and had transacted the business that was urgent, he was once more much occupied with theatres and festivals, since three thousand artists had come to him from Greece. But during this time it chanced that Hephaestion had a fever; and since, young man and soldier that he was, he could not submit to a strict regimen, as soon as Glaucus, his physician, had gone off to the theatre, he sat down to breakfast, ate a boiled fowl, drank a huge cooler of wine, fell sick, and in a little while died. Alexander's grief at this loss knew no bounds.[1] He immediately ordered that the manes and tails of all horses and mules should be shorn in token of mourning, and took away the battlements of the cities round about; he also crucified the wretched physician, and put a stop to the sound of flutes and every kind of music in the camp for a long time, until an oracular response from Ammon came bidding him honour Hephaestion as a hero and sacrifice to him. Moreover, making war a solace for his grief, he went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaeans, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion. Upon a tomb and obsequies for his friend, and upon their embellishments, he purposed to expend ten thousand talents, and wished that the ingenuity and novelty of the construction should surpass the expense. He therefore longed for Stasicrates above all other artists, because in his innovations there was always promise of great

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[1] Arrian finds great diversity in the accounts of Alexander's displays of grief at Hephaestion's death (*Anab.* vii. 14).

4 γελλόμενον. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐντυχὼν
ἔφη τῶν ὀρῶν μάλιστα τὸν Θρᾴκιον Ἄθων διατύπωσιν
ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν·
ἂν οὖν κελεύῃ, μονιμώτατον ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῷ
καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσεσθαι τὸν Ἄθων, τῇ
μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυρίανδρον
πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα ποταμοῦ
ῥεῦμα δαψιλὲς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρῃτήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα
καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφιζόμενος τότε καὶ
συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.

LXXIII. Εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα προάγοντος αὐτοῦ
Νέαρχος (ἀφίκετο γὰρ αὖθις εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν
Εὐφράτην διὰ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) ἔφη τινὰς
ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίους, παραινοῦντας ἀπέχεσθαι
Βαβυλῶνος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ
ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι
γενόμενος ὁρᾷ κόρακας πολλοὺς διαφερομένους
καὶ τύπτοντας ἀλλήλους, ὧν ἔνιοι κατέπεσον
2 παρ' αὐτόν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατὰ
Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὡς
εἴη περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει Πυθαγόραν τὸν
μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνουμένου δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠρώτησε
τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον. φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι τὸ
ἧπαρ ἦν ἄλοβον, "Παπαί," εἶπεν, "ἰσχυρὸν τὸ
σημεῖον·" καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν.
ἤχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἔξω κατασκηνῶν καὶ περιπλέων

magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. This man, indeed, had said to him at a former interview that of all mountains the Thracian Athos could most readily be given the form and shape of a man; if, therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make out of Mount Athos a most enduring and most conspicuous statue of the king, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right should pour forth a river running with generous current into the sea. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects far more strange and expensive than this.

LXXIII. As he was on his way to enter Babylon, Nearchus (who had joined him again after sailing through the ocean into the Euphrates) told the king that certain Chaldaeans had met him and advised that Alexander should keep away from Babylon.[1] Alexander paid no heed to this, but continued on his march; and when he was arrived at the walls, he saw many ravens flying about and clawing one another, and some of them fell dead at his feet. Again, being informed that Apollodorus the commandant of Babylon had sacrificed to learn Alexander's fate, Alexander called Pythagoras the seer. Pythagoras did not deny the fact, whereupon Alexander asked him what was the character of the sacrifice. And when the seer told that the victim's liver had no lobe, "Ah me!" said Alexander, "a forcible omen!" and did Pythagoras no harm. He was sorry, too, that he had not obeyed Nearchus, and passed most of his time outside of Babylon, either

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[1] According to Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 16, 5), the Chaldaeans besought Alexander in person to suspend his march to Babylon. It was in the spring of 323 B.C.

3 τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν. ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν
σημεῖα πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων
μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἥμερος ὄνος ἐπελθὼν
καὶ λακτίσας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀποδυσαμένου δὲ πρὸς
ἄλειμμα καὶ σφαῖραν αὐτοῦ παίζοντος οἱ νεανίσκοι
οἱ σφαιρίζοντες, ὡς ἔδει πάλιν λαβεῖν τὰ
ἱμάτια, καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεζόμενον
σιωπῇ, τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν
4 περικείμενον. οὗτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις
εἴη, πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος ἦν· μόλις δὲ συμφρονήσας
Διονύσιος μὲν ἔφη καλεῖσθαι, Μεσσήνιος
δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος· ἐκ δέ τινος αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας
ἐνταῦθα κομισθεὶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολὺν
χρόνον γεγονέναι ἐν δεσμοῖς· ἄρτι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν
Σάραπιν ἐπιστάντα τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνεῖναι καὶ
προαγαγεῖν δεῦρο, καὶ κελεῦσαι λαβόντα τὴν
στολὴν καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθίσαι καὶ σιωπᾶν.

LXXIV. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν
μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντεις, ἠφάνισεν·
αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ
θεῖον ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὕποπτος. μάλιστα
δὲ Ἀντίπατρον ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας,
ὧν Ἰόλας μὲν ἀρχιοινοχόος ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος
ἀφῖκτο μὲν νεωστί, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους
τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἅτε δὴ τεθραμμένος Ἑλληνικῶς
καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἑωρακώς,
2 ἐγέλασε προπετέστερον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὠργίσθη,
καὶ δραξάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν τριχῶν σφόδρα

living in his tent, or sailing about on the Euphrates. And he was troubled by many omens. For instance, the largest and handsomest lion in his menagerie was attacked by a tame ass and kicked to death. Again, he once took off his clothes for exercise and was playing at ball, and when it was time to dress again, the young men who were playing with him beheld a man seated on the king's throne, in silence, wearing the royal diadem and robes. When the man was asked who he was, he was speechless for a long time; but at last he came to his senses and said that his name was Dionysius, and that he was a native of Messenia; in consequence of some charge brought against him, he said, he had been brought thither from the sea-board, and for a long time had been in chains; but just now the god Serapis had come to him and loosed his chains and brought him to this spot, bidding him put on the robe and diadem and sit on the throne and hold his peace.[1]

LXXIV. On hearing of this, Alexander put the man out of the way, as the seers directed; but he began to be low-spirited, and was distrustful now of the favour of Heaven and suspicious of his friends. He was particularly afraid of Antipater and of his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, Cassander, had only recently come to Babylon, and when he saw some Barbarians doing obeisance to Alexander, since he had been reared as a Greek and had never seen such a sight as this before, he laughed boisterously. But Alexander was enraged, and clutching him fiercely by

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[1] Other predictions of Alexander's death are given in Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 18, 22, and 24).

ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔπαισε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς
τὸν τοῖχον. αὖθις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας
Ἀντιπάτρου λέγειν τι βουλόμενον τὸν Κάσανδρον
ἐκκρούων, "Τί λέγεις;" ἔφη, "τοσαύτην ὁδὸν
ἀνθρώπους μηδὲν ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ συκοφαντοῦντας
3 ἐλθεῖν;" φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου
τοῦτο αὐτὸ σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, ὅτι
μακρὰν ἥκουσι τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἀναγελάσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος,
"Ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα," ἔφη, "σοφίσματα τῶν 70
Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ἑκάτερον τὸν λόγον· οἰμωξομένων,[1]
ἂν καὶ μικρὸν ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
4 φανῆτε." τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὕτω φασὶ δεινὸν ἐνδῦναι
καὶ δευσοποιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάνδρου
τὸ δέος, ὥστε ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἤδη
Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
ἐν Δελφοῖς περιπατοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον
τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνος Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης,
ἄφνω πληγέντα φρῖξαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα
καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἰλιγγιάσαντα πρὸς
τὴν ὄψιν.

LXXV. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐνέδωκε τότε
πρὸς τὰ θεῖα ταραχώδης γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος
τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων
καὶ ἀτόπων ὃ μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον·
ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόντων
2 μεστὸν ἦν τὸ βασίλειον. οὕτως ἄρα δεινὸν
μὲν ἡ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ καταφρόνησις
αὐτῶν, δεινὴ δὲ αὖθις ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, ᾗ,[2] δίκην
ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον καταρρέοντος,[2]

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[1] οἰμωξομένων Sint. with the best MSS.; οἰμωξομένου γε Coraës; οἰμώξῃ μὲν οὖν Bekker.

[2] ᾗ, καταρρέοντος supplied by Bekker, after Coraës.

the hair with both hands dashed his head against the wall. And at another time, when Cassander would have said something in opposition to those who were bringing charges against Antipater, Alexander interrupted him, saying: "What meanest thou? Would men come so long a journey if they had not been wronged and were making false charges?" And when Cassander declared that this very fact of their coming a long distance away from the proofs showed that they were making false charges, Alexander burst out laughing and said: "These are the famous sophisms of Aristotle's disciples for either side of the question; but ye shall rue the day if it appear that ye have done these men even a slight wrong." And in general, as we are told, Cassander's spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly with a shuddering and trembling from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.

LXXV. Alexander, then, since he had now become sensitive to indications of the divine will and perturbed and apprehensive in his mind, converted every unusual and strange occurrence, were it never so insignificant, into a prodigy and portent; and sacrificers, purifiers, and diviners filled his palace. So, you see, while it is a dire thing to be incredulous towards indications of the divine will and to have contempt for them, superstition is likewise a dire thing, which, after the manner of water ever seeking the

ἀνεπλήρου[1] ἀβελτερίας κατάφοβον[2] τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
γενόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησμῶν
γε τῶν περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων
ἀποθέμενος τὸ πένθος αὖθις ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ
3 πότοις. ἑστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον,
εἶτα λουσάμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει μέλλων
καθεύδειν, Μηδίου δεηθέντος ᾤχετο κωμασόμενος
πρὸς αὐτόν· κἀκεῖ πιὼν ὅλην τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν
ἤρξατο πυρέττειν, οὔτε σκύφον Ἡρακλέους
ἐκπιὼν οὔτε ἄφνω διαλγὴς γενόμενος τὸ μετάφρενον
ὥσπερ λόγχῃ πεπληγώς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά
τινες ᾤοντο δεῖν γράφειν ὥσπερ δράματος μεγάλου
τραγικὸν ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες.
4 Ἀριστόβουλος δέ φησιν αὐτὸν πυρέττοντα μανικῶς,
διψήσαντα δὲ σφόδρα πιεῖν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτου
δὲ φρενιτιᾶσαι, καὶ τελευτῆσαι τριακάδι Δαισίου
μηνός.

LXXVI. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται
τὰ περὶ τὴν νόσον. ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ
Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι διὰ τὸ
πυρέξαι. τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον
μετῆλθε, καὶ διημέρευε πρὸς Μήδιον κυβεύων.
εἶτ' ὀψὲ λουσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθεὶς
2 ἐμφαγὼν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι
λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσε τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν·
καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τοῖς περὶ Νέαρ-

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[1] ἀνεπλήρου Coraës' correction of the MSS. καὶ ἀναπληροῦν, adopted by Bekker.

[2] κατάφοβον Coraës' correction of the MSS. καὶ φόβου, adopted by Bekker.

lower levels, filled with folly the Alexander who was now become a prey to his fears. Notwithstanding, in consequence of oracular responses regarding Hephaestion which were brought him, he laid aside his grief and betook himself once more to sacrifices and drinking-bouts. He gave a splendid entertainment to Nearchus, and then, although he had taken his customary bath before going to bed, at the request of Medius he went to hold high revel with him;[1] and here, after drinking all the next day, he began to have a fever. This did not come upon him after he had quaffed a "bowl of Heracles," nor after he had been seized with a sudden pain in the back as though smitten with a spear; these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action. But Aristobulus says that he had a raging fever, and that when he got very thirsty he drank wine, whereupon he became delirious, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

LXXVI. Moreover, in the court "Journals" there are recorded the following particulars regarding his sickness.[2] On the eighteenth of the month Daesius[3] he slept in the bathing-room because he had a fever. On the following day, after his bath, he removed into his bed-chamber, and spent the day at dice with Medius. Then, when it was late, he took a bath, performed his sacrifices to the gods, ate a little, and had a fever through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing again, he performed his customary sacrifice; and lying in the bathing-room

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 25.

[2] They are given also by Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 25).

[3] June 2, 323 B.C.

χον ἐσχόλαζεν, ἀκροώμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν
καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. τῇ δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος
ταὐτὰ ποιήσας μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν
νύκτα βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν
ἐπύρεττε σφόδρα. καὶ μεταρθεὶς κατέκειτο παρὰ
τὴν μεγάλην κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι
διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων,
3 ὅπως καταστήσωσι δοκιμάσαντες. ἑβδόμῃ σφόδρα
πυρέττων ἔθυσεν ἐξαρθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τῶν
δὲ ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν
τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω
νυκτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασίλεια διακομισθεὶς
τῇ ἕκτῃ μικρὸν ὕπνωσεν, ὁ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ
ἀνῆκεν. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφωνος,
4 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην· διὸ καὶ τοῖς
Μακεδόσιν ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες
ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἑταίροις ἕως
ἐβιάσαντο· καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεισῶν ἐν
τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ' ἕνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην
παρεξῆλθον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ περὶ Πύθωνα
καὶ Σέλευκον εἰς τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἀποσταλέντες
ἠρώτων εἰ κομίσωσιν ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον·
ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατὰ χώραν ἐᾶν ἀνεῖλε. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
φθίνοντος πρὸς δείλην ἀπέθανε.

LXXVII. Τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν
ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτω γέγραπται. φαρμακείας
δὲ ὑποψίαν παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν, ἕκτῳ δὲ 707

he devoted himself to Nearchus, listening to his story of his voyage and of the great sea. The twenty-first he spent in the same way and was still more inflamed, and during the night he was in a grievous plight, and all the following day his fever was very high. So he had his bed removed and lay by the side of the great bath, where he conversed with his officers about the vacant posts in the army, and how they might be filled with experienced men. On the twenty-fourth his fever was violent and he had to be carried forth to perform his sacrifices; moreover, he ordered his principal officers to tarry in the court of the palace, and the commanders of divisions and companies to spend the night outside. He was carried to the palace on the other side of the river on the twenty-fifth, and got a little sleep, but his fever did not abate. And when his commanders came to his bedside, he was speechless, as he was also on the twenty-sixth; therefore the Macedonians made up their minds that he was dead, and came with loud shouts to the doors of the palace, and threatened his companions until all opposition was broken down; and when the doors had been thrown open to them, without cloak or armour, one by one, they all filed slowly past his couch. During this day, too, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis to enquire whether they should bring Alexander thither; and the god gave answer that they should leave him where he was. And on the twenty-eighth,[1] towards evening, he died.

LXXVII. Most of this account is word for word as written in the "Journals." And as for suspicions of poisoning, no one had any immediately, but five

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[1] June 13, 323 B.C.

ἔτει φασὶ μηνύσεως γενομένης τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκρῖψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ἰόλα τεθνηκότος, ὡς τούτου τὸ φάρμακον ἐγχέ-
2 αντος. οἱ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλην φάσκοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ σύμβουλον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ὅλως δι' ἐκείνου πορισθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον, Ἁγνόθεμίν τινα διηγεῖσθαι λέγουσιν ὡς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντα· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὕδωρ εἶναι ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετῶδες ἀπὸ πέτρας τινὸς ἐν Νωνάκριδι οὔσης, ἣν ὥσπερ δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ὄνου χηλὴν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀγγεῖον στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακό-
3 πτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν λόγον ὅλως οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας· καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον.

4 Ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη κύουσα μὲν ἐτύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωμένη παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· δυσζήλως δὲ ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολῇ τινι πεπλασμένῃ παραγενέσθαι, καὶ προσαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ κατέβαλε καὶ συνέχωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκου καὶ συμπράτ-
5 τοντος. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστῃ, τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον ὥσπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐφελκόμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδόξου καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίννης, ἀτελῆ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν ὄντα

years afterwards, as we are told, upon information given, Olympias put many men to death, and scattered abroad the ashes of Iolas, alleging that he had administered the poison. But those who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do the deed,[1] and that it was entirely through his agency that the poison was provided, mention one Hagnothemis as their authority, who professed to have heard the story from Antigonus the king; and the poison was water, icy cold, from a certain cliff in Nonacris; this they gathered up like a delicate dew and stored it in an ass's hoof; for no other vessel would hold the water, but would all be eaten through by it, owing to its coldness and pungency. Most writers, however, think that the story of the poisoning is altogether a fabrication; and it is no slight evidence in their favour that during the dissensions of Alexander's commanders, which lasted many days, his body, although it lay without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive influence, but remained pure and fresh.

Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got her there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdiccas being privy to the deed and partner in it. For it was he who was at once in the greatest authority, dragging Arrhidaeus around after him to safe-guard, as it were, the royal power. Arrhidaeus was Philip's son by an obscure and common woman named Philinna, and

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[1] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 28.

διὰ σώματος νόσον οὐ φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φασὶ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεσθαι χάριεν ἦθος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννές, εἶτα μέντοι φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος κακωθέντα διαφθαρῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν.

was deficient in intellect owing to bodily disease. This, however, did not come upon him in the course of nature or of its own accord, indeed, it is said that as a boy he displayed an exceedingly gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind.

CAESAR

Γ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

I. Τὴν Κίννα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος θυγατέρα
Κορνηλίαν, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Σύλλας, οὔτε ἐλπίσιν
οὔτε φόβῳ δυνηθεὶς ἀποσπάσαι Καίσαρος, ἐδή-
μευσε τὴν φερνὴν αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ Καίσαρι τῆς
πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπεχθείας ἡ πρὸς Μάριον οἰκειότης
ἦν. Ἰουλίᾳ γάρ, πατρὸς ἀδελφῇ Καίσαρος, ὁ
πρεσβύτερος συνῴκει Μάριος, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεγόνει
2 Μάριος ὁ νεώτερος, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν Καίσαρος. ὡς δὲ
ὑπὸ πλήθους φόνων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας
ὑπὸ Σύλλα παρορώμενος οὐκ ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ
μετιὼν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προῆλθεν οὔπω
πάνυ μειράκιον ὤν, ταύτης μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν
ὑπεναντιωθεὶς Σύλλας παρεσκεύασε, περὶ δὲ ἀναι-
ρέσεως βουλευόμενος, ἐνίων λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ
ἔχοι λόγον ἀποκτιννύναι παῖδα τηλικοῦτον, οὐκ
ἔφη νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ
3 τούτῳ Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι. ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀνε-
νεχθείσης πρὸς Καίσαρα συχνὸν μέν τινα χρόνον
πλανώμενος ἐν Σαβίνοις ἔκλεπτεν ἑαυτόν· ἔπειτα
δι' ἀρρωστίαν εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν μετακομιζόμενος
κατὰ νύκτα περιπίπτει στρατιώταις τοῦ Σύλλα

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[1] Many think that opening paragraphs of this *Life*, describing the birth and boyhood of Caesar, have been lost.

[2] In 86 B.C., after the death of his colleague, Valerius Flaccus.

CAESAR

I. The wife of Caesar[1] was Cornelia, the daughter of the Cinna who had once held the sole power at Rome,[2] and when Sulla became master of affairs,[3] he could not, either by promises or threats, induce Caesar to put her away, and therefore confiscated her dowry. Now, the reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was Caesar's relationship to Marius. For Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of Marius the Elder, and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin. Moreover, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candidate for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.[4] When this speech was reported to Caesar, he hid himself for some time, wandering about in the country of the Sabines. Then, as he was changing his abode by night on account of sickness, he fell in with soldiers of Sulla who

[3] In 82 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, ix. 1 f.

[4] Nam Caesari multos Marios inesse (Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, i.).

διερευνωμένοις ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς κεκρυμμένους
συλλαμβάνουσιν. ὧν τὸν ἡγεμόνα Κορνήλιον
πείσας δυσὶ ταλάντοις ἀφείθη, καὶ καταβὰς
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν
4 πρὸς Νικομήδην τὸν βασιλέα. παρ' ᾧ διατρίψας 7
χρόνον οὐ πολύν, εἶτα ἀποπλέων ἁλίσκεται περὶ
τὴν Φαρμακοῦσσαν νῆσον ὑπὸ πειρατῶν ἤδη τότε
στόλοις μεγάλοις καὶ σκάφεσιν ἀπλέτοις κατεχόντων
τὴν θάλατταν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λύτρα
εἴκοσι τάλαντα κατεγέλασεν ὡς οὐκ εἰδότων ὃν
ᾑρήκοιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡμολόγησε πεντήκοντα δώσειν·
ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλην διαπέμψας
πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν χρημάτων πορισμόν, ἐν
ἀνθρώποις φονικωτάτοις Κίλιξι μεθ' ἑνὸς φίλου
καὶ δυοῖν ἀκολούθοιν ἀπολελειμμένος οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς
εἶχεν ὥστε πέμπων ὁσάκις ἀναπαύοιτο
2 προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς σιωπᾶν. ἡμέραις
δὲ τεσσαράκοντα δυεῖν δεούσαις, ὥσπερ οὐ φρουρούμενος,
ἀλλὰ δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ
πολλῆς ἀδείας συνέπαιζε καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο. καὶ
ποιήματα γράφων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀκροαταῖς
ἐκείνοις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τοὺς μὴ θαυμάζοντας ἄντικρυς
ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει, καὶ
σὺν γέλωτι πολλάκις ἠπείλησε κρεμᾶν αὐτούς.
3 οἱ δὲ ἔχαιρον, ἀφελείᾳ τινὶ καὶ παιδιᾷ τὴν παρρησίαν
ταύτην νέμοντες. ὡς δὲ ἧκον ἐκ Μιλήτου
τὰ λύτρα καὶ δοὺς ἀφείθη, πλοῖα πληρώσας
εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ Μιλησίων λιμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς λῃστὰς

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[1] Caesar served under Marcus Thermus, praetor of Asia, in 81–80 B.C., being then nineteen years of age, and by him

were searching those regions and arresting the men in hiding there. Caesar gave their leader, Cornelius, two talents to set him free, and at once went down to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia.[1] With him he tarried a short time, and then, on his voyage back,[2] was captured, near the island Pharmacusa, by pirates, who already at that time controlled the sea with large armaments and countless small vessels.

II. To begin with, then, when the pirates demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not knowing who their captive was, and of his own accord agreed to give them fifty. In the next place, after he had sent various followers to various cities to procure the money and was left with one friend and two attendants among Cilicians, most murderous of men, he held them in such disdain that whenever he lay down to sleep he would send and order them to stop talking. For eight and thirty days, as if the men were not his watchers, but his royal body-guard, he shared in their sports and exercises with great unconcern. He also wrote poems and sundry speeches which he read aloud to them, and those who did not admire these he would call to their faces illiterate Barbarians, and often laughingly threatened to hang them all. The pirates were delighted at this, and attributed his boldness of speech to a certain simplicity and boyish mirth. But after his ransom had come from Miletus and he had paid it and was set free, he immediately manned vessels and put to sea from the harbour

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was sent to Bithynia in order to raise a fleet to assist in the siege of Mitylene.

[2] According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 4), it was on a voyage from Rome to Rhodes (after 77 B.C.) that Caesar was captured by pirates.

ἀνήγετο· καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔτι πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ ναυλοχοῦντας ἐκράτησε τῶν πλείστων. καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λείαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν Περγάμῳ καταθέμενος εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸς ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν διέποντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰούνιον,[1] ὡς ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ὄντι στρατηγῷ κολάσαι τοὺς
4 ἑαλωκότας. ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμιῶντος (ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα) καὶ περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σκέψεσθαι φάσκοντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς, χαίρειν ἐάσας αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Πέργαμον ᾤχετο, καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς λῃστὰς ἅπαντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς δοκῶν παίζειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ προειρήκει πολλάκις.

III. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῆς Σύλλα δυνάμεως ἤδη μαραινομένης καὶ τῶν οἴκοι καλούντων αὐτὸν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ σχολὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν τοῦ Μόλωνος, οὗ καὶ Κικέρων ἠκρόατο, σοφιστεύοντος ἐπιφανῶς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικοῦς εἶναι δοκοῦντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φῦναι πρὸς λόγους πολιτικοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄριστα, καὶ διαπονῆσαι φιλοτιμότατα τὴν φύσιν, ὡς τὰ δευτερεῖα μὲν ἀδηρίτως ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον, ὅπως τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις πρῶτος εἴη μᾶλλον
2 ἀσχοληθείς, ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς ὅπερ ἡ φύσις ὑφηγεῖτο τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότητος, ὑπὸ στρατειῶν καὶ πολιτείας, ᾗ κατεκτήσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐκ ἐξικόμενος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὖν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κικέρωνα περὶ Κάτωνος ἀντιγραφῇ παραιτεῖται μὴ στρατιωτικοῦ λόγον ἀνδρὸς ἀντεξετάζειν πρὸς

[1] Ἴουγκον Sintenis.

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[1] According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 4), this voyage, on which he was captured by pirates, was undertaken after his

of Miletus against the robbers. He caught them, too, still lying at anchor off the island, and got most of them into his power. Their money he made his booty, but the men themselves he lodged in the prison at Pergamum, and then went in person to Junius, the governor of Asia, on the ground that it belonged to him, as praetor of the province, to punish the captives. But since the praetor cast longing eyes on their money, which was no small sum, and kept saying that he would consider the case of the captives at his leisure, Caesar left him to his own devices, went to Pergamum, took the robbers out of prison, and crucified them all, just as he had often warned them on the island that he would do, when they thought he was joking.

III. After this, Sulla's power being now on the wane, and Caesar's friends at home inviting him to return, Caesar sailed to Rhodes[1] to study under Apollonius the son of Molon, an illustrious rhetorician with the reputation of a worthy character, of whom Cicero also was a pupil. It is said, too, that Caesar had the greatest natural talent for political oratory, and cultivated his talent most ambitiously, so that he had an undisputed second rank; the first rank, however, he renounced, because he devoted his efforts to being first as a statesman and commander rather, and did not achieve that effectiveness in oratory to which his natural talent directed him, in consequence of his campaigns and of his political activities, by means of which he acquired the supremacy. And so it was that, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's "Cato," he himself deprecated comparison between the diction of a soldier and the eloquence of an

unsuccessful prosecution of Dolabella, mentioned in the next chapter. See the note on i. 4.

δεινότητα ῥήτορος εὐφυοῦς καὶ σχολὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο
πολλὴν ἄγοντος.

IV. Ἐπανελθὼν δ᾽ εἰς Ῥώμην Δολοβέλλαν
ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀπὸ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ παρέσχον.
ὁ μὲν οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην, ὁ δὲ
Καῖσαρ ἀμειβόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς προθυμίας
συνηγόρευσεν αὐτῇ Πόπλιον Ἀντώνιον διωκούσῃ
δωροδοκίας ἐπὶ Λευκούλλου τοῦ Μάρκου Μακεδονίας
2 στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὥστε
τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους,
σκηψάμενον οὐκ ἔχειν τὸ ἴσον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
πρὸς Ἕλληνας. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ
λόγῳ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας αὐτοῦ χάρις ἐξέλαμπε,
πολλὴ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ ὁμιλίας
φιλοφροσύνης εὔνοια παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπήντα,
3 θεραπευτικοῦ παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν ὄντος. ἦν δέ τις καὶ 7
ἀπὸ δείπνων καὶ τραπέζης καὶ ὅλως τῆς περὶ τὴν
δίαιταν λαμπρότητος αὐξανομένη κατὰ μικρὸν
αὐτῷ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἣν τὸ πρῶτον
οἱ φθονοῦντες οἰόμενοι ταχὺ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων
ἐπιλιπόντων ἐξίτηλον ἔσεσθαι, περιεώρων ἀνθοῦσαν
ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὀψὲ δὲ ᾔσθοντο, μεγάλης
καὶ δυσανατρέπτου γενομένης καὶ βαδιζούσης
ἄντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων μεταβολήν, ὡς οὐδεμίαν
ἀρχὴν πράγματος ἡγητέον[1] μικράν, ἣν οὐ
ταχὺ ποιεῖ μεγάλην τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονηθῆναι
4 τὸ μὴ κωλυθῆναι λαβοῦσαν. ὁ γοῦν
πρῶτος ὑπιδέσθαι δοκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβηθῆναι
τῆς πολιτείας ὥσπερ θαλάττης τὰ διαγελῶντα

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[1] ἡγητέον MSS. and Sint.²; ἡγητέον οὕτω Coraës, after Stephanus; οὕτω ἡγητέον Sint.¹; οὕτως ἡγητέον Bekker.

orator who was gifted by nature and had plenty of leisure to pursue his studies.

IV. After his return to Rome he impeached Dolabella[1] for maladministration of his province, and many of the cities of Greece supplied him with testimony. Dolabella, it is true, was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the zealous efforts of the Greeks in his behalf, served as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia. And he was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes at Rome, alleging that he could not have a fair trial in Greece against Greeks. At Rome, moreover, Caesar won a great and brilliant popularity by his eloquence as an advocate, and much good will from the common people for the friendliness of his manners in intercourse with them, since he was ingratiating beyond his years. He had also a large and gradually increasing political influence in consequence of his lavish hospitality and the general splendour of his mode of life. At first his enemies thought this influence would quickly vanish when his expenditures ceased, and therefore suffered it to thrive among the common people; but later on when it had become great and hard to subvert, and aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be quickly made great by continuance, after contempt of them has left them unobstructed. At all events, the man who is thought to have been the first to see beneath the surface of Caesar's public policy and to fear it, as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who com-

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[1] In 77 B.C.

καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ ἱλαρῷ κεκρυμμένην δεινότητα τοῦ ἤθους καταμαθὼν Κικέρων ἔλεγε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπιβουλεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτεύμασι τυραννικὴν ἐνορᾶν διάνοιαν, "Ἀλλ' ὅταν," ἔφη, "τὴν κόμην οὕτω διακειμένην περιττῶς ἴδω κἀκεῖνον ἑνὶ δακτύλῳ κνώμενον, οὔ μοι δοκεῖ πάλιν οὗτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς νοῦν ἂν ἐμβαλέσθαι τηλικοῦτον κακόν, ἀναίρεσιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

V. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου πρώτην μὲν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἔλαβεν ὅτε πρὸς Γάϊον Ποπίλιον ἐρίσας ὑπὲρ χιλιαρχίας πρότερος ἀνηγορεύθη· δευτέραν δὲ καὶ καταφανεστέραν ὅτε, τῆς Μαρίου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀποθανούσης, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν αὐτῆς ἐγκώμιόν τε λαμπρὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διῆλθε, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐτόλμησεν εἰκόνας Μαρίου προθέσθαι, τότε πρῶτον ὀφθείσας μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σύλλα πολιτείαν, πολεμίων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
2 κριθέντων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐνίων καταβοησάντων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ δῆμος ἀντήχησε λαμπρῶς, δεξάμενος κρότῳ καὶ θαυμάσας ὥσπερ ἐξ Ἅιδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶ πρεσβυτέραις λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξιέναι πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, νέαις δὲ οὐκ ὂν ἐν ἔθει πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης· καὶ τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ χάριν τινὰ καὶ συνεδημαγώγησε τῷ πάθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἥμερον ἄνδρα καὶ περίμεστον ἤθους ἀγαπᾶν.

prehended the powerful character hidden beneath his kindly and cheerful exterior, namely Cicero, said that in most of Caesar's political plans and projects he saw a tyrannical purpose; "On the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the overthrow of the Roman constitution." This, it is true, belongs to a later period.

V. The first proof of the people's good will towards him he received when he competed against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship and was elected over him; a second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum,[1] and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died.[2] This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, as a man who was gentle and full of feeling.

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[1] In 68 B.C.

[2] In 68 B.C.

3 Θάψας δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ταμίας εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἑνὶ
τῶν στρατηγῶν Βέτερι συνεξῆλθεν, ὃν αὐτόν τε
τιμῶν ἀεὶ διετέλεσε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν πάλιν αὐτὸς
ἄρχων ταμίαν ἐποίησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἠγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηΐαν,
ἔχων ἐκ Κορνηλίας θυγατέρα τὴν ὕστερον Πομπηΐῳ
4 Μάγνῳ γαμηθεῖσαν. χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς
δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς, καὶ δοκῶν μὲν ἐφήμερον καὶ
βραχεῖαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων
δόξαν, ὠνούμενος δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ
μέγιστα μικρῶν, λέγεται πρὶν εἰς ἀρχήν τινα
καθίστασθαι χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι
5 χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὁδοῦ
τῆς Ἀππίας ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς πάμπολλα
χρήματα προσανάλωσε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ
ἀγορανομῶν ζεύγη μονομάχων τριακόσια καὶ
εἴκοσι παρέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ θέατρα καὶ
πομπὰς καὶ δεῖπνα χορηγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις
τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατέκλυσε φιλοτιμίας, οὕτω διέθηκε
τὸν δῆμον ὡς καινὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καινὰς δὲ
τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαιντο.

VI. Δυεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Σύλλα μέγα δυναμένης, τῆς δὲ Μαριανῆς, ἣ τότε κατεπτήχει καὶ διέσπαστο κομιδῇ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα, ταύτην ἀναρρῶσαι καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀγορανομικαῖς φιλοτιμί-

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[1] In 67 B.C.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain[1] as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife[2] Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship,[3] he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

VI. There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images

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[2] Caesar was first married to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman knight. [3] In 66 B.C.

αις ἀκμὴν ἐχούσαις εἰκόνας ἐποιήσατο Μαρίου
κρύφα καὶ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους, ἃς φέρων νυκτὸς 71
2 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
τοὺς θεασαμένους μαρμαίροντα πάντα χρυσῷ καὶ
τέχνῃ κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς (διεδήλου δὲ
γράμμασι τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα) θάμβος
ἔσχε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀναθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλος),
ταχὺ δὲ περιϊὼν ὁ λόγος ἤθροιζε πάντας
3 ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐβόων
τυραννίδα πολιτεύεσθαι Καίσαρα, νόμοις καὶ
δόγμασι κατορωρυγμένας ἐπανιστάντα τιμάς, καὶ
τοῦτο πεῖραν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶναι προμαλαττόμενον,
εἰ τετιθάσευται ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ δίδωσι παίζειν τοιαῦτα καὶ καινοτομεῖν,
οἱ δὲ Μαριανοὶ παραθαρρύναντες ἀλλήλους πλήθει
τε θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ
4 κρότῳ κατεῖχον τὸ Καπιτώλιον· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ
δάκρυα τὴν Μαρίου θεωμένοις ὄψιν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
ἐχώρει, καὶ μέγας ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγκωμίοις αἰρόμενος,
ὡς ἀντὶ πάντων ἄξιος εἴη ὁ[1] ἀνὴρ τῆς
Μαρίου συγγενείας. συναχθείσης δὲ περὶ τούτων
τῆς βουλῆς, Κάτλος Λουτάτιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμῶν
τότε μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων, ἀναστὰς καὶ κατηγορήσας
Καίσαρος ἐπεφθέγξατο τὸ μνημονευόμενον·
“Οὐκέτι γὰρ ὑπονόμοις,” ἔφη, “Καῖσαρ,
ἀλλ' ἤδη μηχαναῖς αἱρεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν.” ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀπολογησάμενος πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἔπεισε
τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν

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[1] εἴη ὁ bracketed by Sint.^{2}.

of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius[1]) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight. But some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. The partisans of Marius, however, encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers, and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly extolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. But when the senate met to discuss these matters, Catulus Lutatius, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memorable words: "No longer, indeed, by sapping and mining, Caesar, but with engines of war art thou capturing the government." Caesar, however, defended himself against this charge and convinced the senate, whereupon his admirers were still more

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[1] See the *Marius*, chapters xi.–xxii.

ἐπήρθησαν, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μηδενὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίεσθαι· πάντων γὰρ ἑκόντι τῷ δήμῳ περιέσεσθαι καὶ πρωτεύσειν.

VII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Μετέλλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην περιμάχητον οὖσαν Ἰσαυρικοῦ καὶ Κάτλου μετιόντων, ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἐν βουλῇ δυναμένων, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ
2 καταβὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀντιπαρήγγελλεν. ἀγχωμάλου δὲ τῆς σπουδῆς φαινομένης, ὁ Κάτλος, ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀξίας μᾶλλον ὀρρωδῶν τὴν ἀδηλότητα, προσέπεμψε πείθων ἀποστῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι.

Τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ προπεμπούσης, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτήν, "Ὦ μῆτερ," εἶπε, "τήμερον
3 ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει." διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς ψήφου καὶ γενομένης ἁμίλλης ἐκράτησε, καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶν θρασύτητος προάξων τὸν δῆμον. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλον ᾐτιῶντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ
4 Κατιλίναν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κατιλίνας οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅλην ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέαι διανοηθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξέπεσε,

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[1] In 63 B.C.

elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state.

VII. At this time, too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died,[1] and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums.

The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said: "Mother, to-day thou shalt see thy son either pontifex maximus or an exile." The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him. Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. He himself, however, was expelled from the city,[2]

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[2] In 63 B.C. Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters x.–xxii.

περιπταίσας ἐλάττοσιν ἐλέγχοις πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐσχάτας αὐτοῦ βουλὰς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, Λέντλον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε τῆς συνωμοσίας, οἷς εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρεῖχέ τι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄδηλόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελεγχθέντων καὶ Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου γνώμας ἐρωτῶντος περὶ
5 *κολάσεως ἕκαστον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μέχρι Καίσαρος θανατοῦν ἐκέλευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀναστὰς λόγον διῆλθε πεφροντισμένον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἀκρίτους ἄνδρας ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει λαμπροὺς οὐ δοκεῖ πάτριον οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι, μὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης, εἰ δὲ φρουροῖντο δεθέντες ἐν πόλεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται Κικέρων, μέχρι οὗ καταπολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας, ὕστερον ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν περὶ ἑκάστου τῇ βουλῇ γνῶναι παρέξει.*

VIII. *Οὕτω δὲ τῆς γνώμης φιλανθρώπου* 711 *φανείσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου δυνατῶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ῥηθέντος οὐ μόνον οἱ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνιστάμενοι προσετίθεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰρημένας γνώμας ἀπειπάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μετέστησαν, ἕως ἐπὶ Κάτωνα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ Κάτλον περιῆλθε. τούτων δὲ νεανικῶς ἐναντιωθέντων, Κάτωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ συνεπερείσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατεξανα-*
2 *στάντος ἐρρωμένως, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀποθανούμενοι παρεδόθησαν, Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξιόντι*

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[1] Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxii. 4 f.

having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser iniquities before his most far reaching plans were discovered; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under extremest necessity; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

VIII. This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power,[1] that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had preceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his, until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.[2] As a result, the men were handed over to the executioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together

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[2] See the *Cato Minor*, chapter xxiii.

πολλοὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα φρουρούντων τότε νέων γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη συνδραμόντες ἐπέσχον. ἀλλὰ Κουρίων τε λέγεται τῇ τηβέννῳ περιβαλὼν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν, αὐτός τε ὁ Κικέρων, ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι προσέβλεψαν, ἀνανεῦσαι, φοβηθεὶς τὸν δῆμον, ἢ τὸν φόνον ὅλως ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον ἡγούμενος.

3 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἔγραψεν· αἰτίαν δὲ εἶχεν ὕστερον ὡς ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ τότε παρασχόντι κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιάσας τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς περιεχόμενον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅς γε καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἦν ἀπολογουμένου καὶ περιπίπτοντος θορύβοις πονηροῖς, ἐπειδὴ πλείων τοῦ συνήθους ἐγίγνετο τῇ βουλῇ καθεζομένῃ χρόνος, ἐπῆλθε μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ περιέστη τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀπαι-
4 τῶν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύων ἀφεῖναι. διὸ καὶ Κάτων φοβηθεὶς μάλιστα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων νεωτερισμόν, οἳ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέκκαυμα πλήθους ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ἔπεισε τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπονεῖμαι σιτηρέσιον αὐτοῖς ἔμμηνον, ἐξ οὗ δαπάνης μὲν ἑπτακόσιαι πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐνιαύσιοι προσεγίνοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναλώμασι, τὸν μέντοι μέγαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φόβον ἔσβεσε περιφανῶς τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέρρηξε τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως καὶ

with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.

Now, if this is true, I do not see why Cicero did not mention it in the treatise on his consulship;[1] however, he was afterwards blamed for not having improved that best of all opportunities for removing Caesar. Instead, he showed a cowardly fear of the people, who were extravagantly attached to Caesar; in fact, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state.[2] However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was manifestly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar's power was broken down and dissi-

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[1] No longer extant.

[2] Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxvi. 1.

διεσκέδασεν ἐν καιρῷ, στρατηγεῖν μέλλοντος καὶ
φοβερωτέρου διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντος.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι ταραχῶδες ἀπ' αὐτῆς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τις ἄχαρις τῷ Καίσαρι συνηνέχθη
περὶ τὸν οἶκον. Πόπλιος Κλώδιος ἦν ἀνὴρ
γένει μὲν εὐπατρίδης καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ λαμπρός,
ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν ἐπὶ βδελυρίᾳ
2 περιβοήτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. οὗτος ἤρα Πομπηΐας
τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης.
ἀλλὰ φυλακαί τε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβεῖς
ἦσαν, ἥ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Αὐρηλία,
γυνὴ σώφρων, περιέπουσα τὴν νύμφην ἀεὶ χαλεπὴν
καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένην αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὴν
ἔντευξιν.

3 Ἔστι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις θεὸς ἣν Ἀγαθὴν ὀνομάζουσιν,
ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Γυναικείαν. καὶ Φρύγες μὲν
οἰκειούμενοι Μίδα μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι
φασί, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νύμφην Δρυάδα Φαύνῳ συνοικήσασαν,
Ἕλληνες δὲ τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τὴν
ἄρρητον. ὅθεν ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηνὰς κλήμασιν
ἑορτάζουσαι κατερέφουσι, καὶ δράκων
ἱερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον.
ἄνδρα δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας
γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὀργιαζομένων· αὐταὶ δὲ
καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες πολλὰ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς
ὁμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν.
4 ὅταν οὖν ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθήκῃ χρόνος, ὑπατεύοντος
ἢ στρατηγοῦντος ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξί-

pated in the nick of time, since he was praetor elect,[1] and would be more formidable on account of his office.

IX. However, there were no disturbances in consequence of Caesar's praetorship, but an unpleasant incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius was a man of patrician birth, and conspicuous for wealth and eloquence, but in insolence and effrontery he surpassed all the notorious scoundrels of his time. This man was in love with Pompeia the wife of Caesar, and she was not unwilling. But close watch was kept upon the women's apartments, and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a woman of discretion, would never let the young wife out of her sight, and made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to have an interview.

Now, the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, corresponding to the Greek Gynaeceia. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own, and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad nymph and the wife of Faunus; the Greeks that she was the unnameable one among the mothers of Dionysus. And this is the reason why the women cover their booths with vine-branches when they celebrate her festival, and why a sacred serpent is enthroned beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is not lawful for a man to attend the sacred ceremonies, nor even to be in the house when they are celebrated; but the women, apart by themselves, are said to perform many rites during their sacred service which are Orphic in their character. Accordingly, when the time for the festival is at hand, the consul or praetor at whose house it is to be held goes away, and every male with him,

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[1] For the year 62 B.C.

σταται καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν οἰκίαν παραλαβοῦσα διακοσμεῖ. καὶ τὰ μέγιστα νύκτωρ τελεῖται, παιδιᾶς ἀναμεμιγμένης ταῖς παννυχίσι καὶ μουσικῆς ἅμα πολλῆς παρούσης.

X. Ταύτην τότε τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πομπηΐας
ἐπιτελούσης, ὁ Κλώδιος οὔπω γενειῶν καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο λήσειν οἰόμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας 71
ἀναλαβὼν ἐχώρει, νέᾳ γυναικὶ τὴν ὄψιν
ἐοικώς. καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεῳγμέναις
εἰσήχθη μὲν ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδυίας θεραπαινίδος,
2 ἐκείνης δὲ προδραμούσης ὡς τῇ Πομπηΐᾳ
φράσειε, καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, περιμένειν μὲν
ὅπου κατελείφθη τῷ Κλωδίῳ μὴ καρτεροῦντι,
πλανωμένῳ δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιφεύγοντι
τὰ φῶτα προσπεσοῦσα τῆς Αὐρηλίας ἀκόλουθος
ὡς δὴ γυνὴ γυναῖκα παίζειν προὐκαλεῖτο, καὶ μὴ
βουλόμενον εἰς τὸ μέσον εἷλκε, καὶ τίς ἐστι καὶ
3 πόθεν ἐπυνθάνετο. τοῦ δὲ Κλωδίου φήσαντος
Ἅβραν περιμένειν Πομπηΐας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην,
καὶ τῇ φωνῇ γενομένου καταφανοῦς,
ἡ μὲν ἀκόλουθος εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησε κραυγῇ
πρὸς τὰ φῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἄνδρα πεφωρακέναι
βοῶσα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν διαπτοηθεισῶν ἡ
Αὐρηλία τὰ μὲν ὄργια τῆς θεοῦ κατέπαυσε καὶ
συνεκάλυψεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλεῖσαι
κελεύσασα περιήει τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων,
4 ζητοῦσα τὸν Κλώδιον. εὑρίσκεται δ' εἰς οἴκημα
παιδίσκης ᾗ συνεισῆλθε καταπεφευγώς· καὶ
γενόμενος φανερὸς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξελαύνεται
διὰ τῶν θυρῶν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα καὶ νυκτὸς
εὐθὺς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπιοῦσαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔφραζον

while his wife takes possession of the premises and puts them in due array. The most important rites are celebrated by night, when mirth attends the revels, and much music, too, is heard.

X. At the time of which I speak, Pompeia was celebrating this festival, and Clodius, who was still beardless and on this account thought to pass unnoticed, assumed the dress and implements of a lute-girl and went to the house, looking like a young woman. He found the door open, and was brought in safely by the maid-servant there, who was in the secret; but after she had run on ahead to tell Pompeia and some time had elapsed, Clodius had not the patience to wait where he had been left, and so, as he was wandering about in the house (a large one) and trying to avoid the lights, an attendant of Aurelia came upon him and asked him to play with her, as one woman would another, and when he refused, she dragged him forward and asked who he was and whence he came. Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (this was the very name by which the maid was called), and his voice betrayed him. The attendant of Aurelia at once sprang away with a scream to the lights and the throng, crying out that she had caught a man. The women were panic-stricken, and Aurelia put a stop to the mystic rites of the goddess and covered up the emblems. Then she ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with torches, searching for Clodius. He was found where he had taken refuge, in the chamber of the girl who had let him into the house; and when they saw who he was, the women drove him out of doors. Then at once, and in the night, they went off and

ἀνδράσι, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως λόγος ὡς ἀθέσμοις ἐπικεχειρηκότος τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ δίκην οὐ τοῖς ὑβρισμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 5 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλοντος. ἐγράψατο μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλώδιον εἷς τῶν δημάρχων ἀσεβείας, καὶ συνέστησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἄλλας τε δεινὰς ἀσελγείας καταμαρτυροῦντες καὶ μοιχείαν ἀδελφῆς, ἣ Λευκούλλῳ συνῳκήκει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς ὁ δῆμος ἀντιτάξας ἑαυτὸν ἤμυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ, καὶ μέγα πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὄφελος ἦν ἐκπεπλη- 6 γμένους καὶ δεδοικότας τὸ πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν Πομπηΐαν, μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γιγνώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατήγορος ἠρώτησε, "Πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;" "Ὅτι," ἔφη, "τὴν ἐμὴν ἠξίουν μηδὲ ὑπονοηθῆναι."

Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν οὕτω φρονοῦντα τὸν Καίσαρα λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενον ὡρ- 7 μημένῳ σώζειν τὸν Κλώδιον. ἀποφεύγει δ᾽ οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδόντων, ὅπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι μήτε ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβών, ὡς ἦν δυσδιά-

told the matter to their husbands, and when day came a report spread through the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction, not only to those whom he had insulted, but also to the city and to the gods. Accordingly, one of the tribunes of the people indicted Clodius for sacrilege, and the most influential senators leagued themselves together and bore witness against him that, among other shocking abominations, he had committed adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. But against the eager efforts of these men the people arrayed themselves in defence of Clodius, and were of great assistance to him with the jurors in the case, who were terror-stricken and afraid of the multitude. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was summoned to testify at the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters with which Clodius was charged. His statement appeared strange, and the prosecutor therefore asked, "Why, then, didst thou divorce thy wife?" "Because," said Caesar, "I thought my wife ought not even to be under suspicion."

Some say that Caesar made this deposition honestly; but according to others it was made to gratify the people, who were determined to rescue Clodius. At any rate, Clodius was acquitted of the charge, the majority of the jurors giving their verdicts in illegible writing, in order that they might neither risk their lives with the populace by condemning him, nor get a bad name among the nobility by acquitting him.[1]

XI. Immediately after his praetorship Caesar received Spain as his province, and since he found it

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[1] The sacrilege and trial of Clodius are described at length also in the *Cicero*, chapters xxviii. and xxix.

θετον αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐξιόντι καὶ καταβοῶντας, ἐπὶ Κράσσον *κατέφυγε πλουσιώτατον ὄντα* Ῥωμαίων, *δεόμενον δὲ τῆς* Καίσαρος *ἀκμῆς καὶ θερμότητος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς* Πομπήϊον *ἀντιπολιτείαν. ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ* Κράσσου *τοὺς μάλιστα χαλεποὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ διεγγυήσαντος ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.*

2 *Λέγεται δέ, τὰς* Ἄλπεις *ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολίχνιόν τι βαρβαρικὸν οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ὀλίγων καὶ λυπρὸν παρερχομένου, τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅμα γέλωτι καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς* "Ἦ *που*" *φάναι* "*κἀνταῦθά τινές εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἀρχῶν φιλοτιμίαι καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἅμιλλαι καὶ φθόνοι τῶν δυνατῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους;*" *τὸν δὲ* Καίσαρα *σπουδάσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν,* "Ἐ*γὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον*
3 *πρῶτος ἢ παρὰ* Ῥωμαίοις *δεύτερος.*" *ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν ἐν* Ἰβηρίᾳ *σχολῆς οὔσης ἀναγινώσκοντά τι τῶν περὶ* Ἀλεξάνδρου *γεγραμμένων σφόδρα*
γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα καὶ δακρῦσαι· 71
τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν· "Οὐ *δοκεῖ ὑμῖν ἄξιον εἶναι λύπης, εἰ τηλικοῦτος μὲν ὢν* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἤδη τοσούτων ἐβασίλευεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὔπω πέπρακται;*"

XII. Τῆς *γοῦν* Ἰβηρίας *ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνεργός, ὥσθ' ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις δέκα σπείρας συναγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον οὔσαις εἴκοσι, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ* Καλλαϊκοὺς *καὶ* Λυσιτανοὺς *κρα-*

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[1] Early in 61 B.C.

hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he had recourse to Crassus, the richest of the Romans, who had need of Caesar's vigour and fire for his political campaign against Pompey. And it was only after Crassus had met the demands of the most importunate and inexorable of these creditors and given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents, that Caesar could go out to his province.[1]

We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, "Can it be that here too there are ambitious strifes for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?" Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, "I would rather be first here than second at Rome." In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. "Do you not think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?"[2]

XII. At any rate, as soon as he reached Spain he set himself to work, and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were there before. Then he led his army against the Callaici

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[2] Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 52, 2) connect this anecdote more properly with Caesar's quaestorship in Spain (67 B.C.), when he was thirty-three years of age, the age at which Alexander died.

τῆσαι καὶ προελθεῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης τὰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπακούοντα Ῥωμαίοις ἔθνη καταστρεφόμενος. θέμενος δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς, οὐ χεῖρον ἐβράβευε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὁμόνοιάν τε ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν χρεωφειλετῶν καὶ δανειστῶν ἰώμενος διαφοράς.
2 ἔταξε γὰρ τῶν προσιόντων τοῖς ὀφείλουσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν δύο μὲν μέρη τὸν δανειστὴν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν δεσπότην, ἄχρι ἂν οὕτως ἐκλυθῇ τὸ δάνειον. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐδοκιμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἐπαρχίας, αὐτός τε πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφεληκὼς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, καὶ προσηγορευμένος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν μνωμένους θρίαμβον ἔξω διατρίβειν ἔδει, τοὺς δὲ μετιόντας ὑπατείαν παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο πράττειν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ γεγονὼς ἀντινομίᾳ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀφιγμένος ἀρχαιρεσίας ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αἰτούμενος αὐτῷ δοθῆναι παραγγέλλειν εἰς ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι διὰ τῶν φίλων. Κάτωνος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζομένου τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν, εἶτα, ὡς ἑώρα πολλοὺς τεθεραπευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐκκρούσαντος τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ λέγειν κατατρίψαντος, ἔγνω τὸν θρίαμβον ἀφεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ
2 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας. καὶ παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ὑποδύεται πολίτευμά τι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπατῆσαν πλὴν Κάτωνος. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο διαλλαγὴ Πομπηΐου καὶ Κράσσου τῶν μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναμένων· οὓς συναγαγὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς φιλίαν

and Lusitani, overpowered them, and marched on as far as the outer sea, subduing the tribes which before were not obedient to Rome. After bringing the war to a successful close, he was equally happy in adjusting the problems of peace, by establishing concord between the cities, and particularly by healing the dissensions between debtors and creditors. For he ordained that the creditor should annually take two thirds of his debtor's income, and that the owner of the property should use the rest, and so on until the debt was cancelled. In high repute for this administration he retired from the province; he had become wealthy himself, had enriched his soldiers from their campaigns, and had been saluted by them as Imperator.

XIII. Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a request to the senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship *in absentiâ*, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar's request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the most influential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together in friendship after their quarrel, and by

ἐκ διαφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν συνενεγκάμενος
ἰσχὺν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ φιλάνθρωπον ἔχοντι προσηγορίαν
3 ἔλαθε μεταστήσας τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ
γάρ, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν, ἡ Καίσαρος καὶ
Πομπηΐου διαφορὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους ἀπειργάσατο
πολέμους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία, συστάντων ἐπὶ
καταλύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα
οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαστάντων. Κάτωνι
δὲ πολλάκις τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζοντι περιῆν
δυσκόλου μὲν ἀνθρώπου τότε καὶ πολυπράγμονος,
ὕστερον δὲ φρονίμου μέν, οὐκ εὐτυχοῦς δὲ συμβούλου
λαβεῖν δόξαν.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
Κράσσου καὶ Πομπηΐου φιλίας δορυφορούμενος
ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατήχθη· καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀναγορευθεὶς
μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Βύβλου καὶ καταστὰς
εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς εἰσέφερε νόμους οὐχ
ὑπάτῳ προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ δημάρχῳ τινὶ θρασυτάτῳ,
πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν κληρουχίας τινὰς
2 χώρας καὶ διανομὰς εἰσηγούμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ
βουλῇ τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀντικρουσάντων,
πάλαι δεόμενος προφάσεως, ἀνακραγὼν καὶ μαρτυράμενος
ὡς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἄκων ἐξελαύνοιτο
θεραπεύσων ἐκεῖνον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὕβρει καὶ χαλεπότητι
τῆς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ
περιστησάμενος ἔνθεν μὲν Κράσσον, ἔνθεν δὲ
Πομπήϊον, ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπαινοῖεν.
3 ἐπαινεῖν δὲ φασκόντων, παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἐνίστασθαι μετὰ ξιφῶν ἀπειλοῦντας. ἐκεῖνοι

concentrating their united strength upon himself, succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an act which could be called one of kindness, in changing the form of government. For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their friendship, since they worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled with one another. And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor.[1]

XIV. Caesar, however, encompassed and protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office,[2] he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land. In the senate the opposition of men of the better sort gave him the pretext which he had long desired, and crying with loud adjurations that he was driven forth into the popular assembly against his wishes, and was compelled to court its favour by the insolence and obstinacy of the senate, he hastened before it, and stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, xlvii. 1–5.

[2] In 59 B.C.

δὲ ὑπισχνοῦντο· Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ προσεπεῖπεν
ὡς ἀφίξοιτο πρὸς τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους καὶ
θυρεὸν κομίζων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστοκρατικοὺς
ἠνίασεν, οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰδοῦς,
οὐδὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εὐλαβείας πρέπουσαν,
ἀλλὰ μανικὴν καὶ μειρακιώδη φωνὴν ἀκούσαντας,
ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἥσθη.

4 Καῖσαρ δὲ μειζόνως ἔτι τῆς Πομπηΐου δυνάμεως 714
ὑποδραττόμενος, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ Ἰουλία θυγάτηρ
ἐγγεγυημένη Σερουϊλίῳ Καιπίωνι, ταύτην ἐνεγγύησε
Πομπηΐῳ, τὴν δὲ Πομπηΐου τῷ Σερουϊλίῳ
δώσειν ἔφησεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀνέγγυον οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ
Φαύστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδὶ καθωμολογημένην.
5 ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ ἠγάγετο Καλπουρνίαν
θυγατέρα Πείσωνος, τὸν δὲ Πείσωνα κατέστησεν
ὕπατον εἰς τὸ μέλλον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ σφόδρα
μαρτυρομένου Κάτωνος καὶ βοῶντος οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν
εἶναι, γάμοις διαμαστροπευομένης τῆς ἡγεμονίας
καὶ διὰ γυναίων εἰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα
καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλους ἀντεισαγόντων.

6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν συνάρχων τοῦ Καίσαρος Βύβλος,
ἐπεὶ κωλύων τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλὰ
πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευε μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς
χρόνον διετέλεσε. Πομπήϊος δὲ γήμας εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε
τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅπλων καὶ συνεπεκύρου τῷ
δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων
καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἅπασαν Κελτικήν, προσθεὶς τὸ
Ἰλλυρικὸν μετὰ ταγμάτων τεσσάρων εἰς πενταετίαν.
7 Κάτωνα μὲν οὖν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τούτοις
ἀντιλέγειν ἀπῆγεν εἰς φυλακὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οἰόμενος
αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσεσθαι τοὺς δημάρχους· ἐκείνου δὲ

him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.

Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not unbetrothed, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And a little while afterwards Caesar took Calpurnia to wife, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso made consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently protested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and give him as his consular province Gaul on both sides of the Alps for five years, together with Illyricum and four legions. Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, supposing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes; but when Cato walked off without a word and Caesar

ἀφώνου βαδίζοντος ὁρῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς κρατίστους δυσφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν αἰδοῖ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς σιωπῇ καὶ μετὰ κατηφείας ἑπόμενον, αὐτὸς ἐδεήθη κρύφα τῶν δημάρχων ἑνὸς ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

8 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ συνήεσαν εἰς βουλήν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκποδὼν ἦσαν. εἰπόντος δὲ Κονσιδίου τινὸς τῶν σφόδρα γερόντων ὡς φοβούμενοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ συνέρχοιντο, "Τί οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, "οὐ καὶ σὺ ταῦτα δεδιὼς οἰκουρεῖς;" καὶ ὁ Κονσίδιος εἶπεν· "Ὅτι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας· ὁ γὰρ ἔτι λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς ὀλίγος ὢν δεῖται προνοίας."
9 αἴσχιστον δὲ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος ὑπατείᾳ δήμαρχον αἱρεθῆναι Κλώδιον ἐκεῖνον, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους παρενομήθη παννυχίδας. ᾑρέθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Κικέρωνος καταλύσει· καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ καταστασιάσαι Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

XV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν λέγεται γενέσθαι τὰ πρὸ τῶν Γαλατικῶν. ὁ δὲ τῶν πολέμων οὓς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν αἷς ἡμερώσατο τὴν Κελτικήν, χρόνος, ὥσπερ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταστάντος εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου τῶν μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένων ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ μεγίστων γεγονότων ἀπολείποντα
2 πολεμιστὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀπέδειξεν αὐτόν,

saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato's virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he himself secretly asked one of the tribunes to take Cato out of arrest.

Of the other senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the senate; the rest, in displeasure, stayed away. Considius, a very aged senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. "Why, then," said Caesar, "dost thou too not stay at home out of the same fear?" To this Considius replied: "Because my old age makes me fearless; for the short span of life that is still left me does not require much anxious thought." But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had trespassed upon his rights as a husband, and upon the secret nocturnal vigils. He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not go forth upon his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.[1]

XV. Such, then, is said to have been the course of Caesar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he afterwards fought, and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul, as if he had made another beginning and entered upon a different path of life and one of new achievements, proved him to be inferior as soldier and commander to no one soever of those who have won most admiration for leadership and shown themselves

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[1] Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

ἀλλ' εἴτε Φαβίους καὶ Σκηπίωνας καὶ Μετέλλους
καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἢ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ,
Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον ἀμφοτέρους τε Λευκούλλους
ἢ καὶ Πομπήϊον αὐτόν, οὗ κλέος ὑπουράνιον ἤνθει
τότε παντοίας περὶ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς, παραβάλοι
τις, αἱ Καίσαρος ὑπερβάλλουσι πράξεις τὸν μὲν
χαλεπότητι τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐπολέμησε, τὸν δὲ μεγέθει
χώρας ἣν προσεκτήσατο, τὸν δὲ πλήθει καὶ
3 βίᾳ πολεμίων οὓς ἐνίκησε, τὸν δὲ ἀτοπίαις καὶ
ἀπιστίαις ἠθῶν ἃ καθωμίλησε, τὸν δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ
καὶ πρᾳότητι πρὸς τοὺς ἁλισκομένους, τὸν δὲ
δώροις καὶ χάρισι πρὸς τοὺς συστρατευομένους,
πάντας δὲ τῷ πλείστας μεμαχῆσθαι μάχας καὶ
πλείστους ἀνῃρηκέναι τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων. ἔτη
γὰρ οὐδὲ δέκα πολεμήσας περὶ Γαλατίαν πόλεις
μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν, ἔθνη δὲ 715
ἐχειρώσατο τριακόσια, μυριάσι δὲ παραταξάμενος
κατὰ μέρος τριακοσίαις ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ
διέφθειρεν, ἄλλας δὲ τοσαύτας ἐζώγρησεν.

XVI. Εὐνοίᾳ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐχρήσατο τοσαύτῃ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρων μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις στρατείαις διαφέροντας ἀμάχους καὶ ἀνυποστάτους φέρεσθαι πρὸς πᾶν δεινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος δόξης. οἷος ἦν τοῦτο μὲν Ἀκίλιος, ὃς ἐν τῇ περὶ Μασσαλίαν ναυμαχίᾳ νεὼς πολεμίας ἐπιβεβηκὼς τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἀπεκόπη χεῖρα μαχαίρᾳ, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὸν θυρεὸν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τύπτων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τοὺς

greatest therein. Nay, if one compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus, and with the men of his own time or a little before him, like Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every sort of military excellence was at this time flowering out and reaching to the skies, Caesar will be found to surpass them all in his achievements. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the regions where he waged his wars; another in the great extent of country which he acquired; another in the multitude and might of the enemies over whom he was victorious; another in the savage manners and perfidious dispositions of the people whom he conciliated; another in his reasonableness and mildness towards his captives; another still in the gifts and favours which he bestowed upon his soldiers; and all in the fact that he fought the most battles and killed the most enemies. For although it was not full ten years that he waged war in Gaul, he took by storm more than eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three million men, of whom he slew one million in hand to hand fighting and took as many more prisoners.

XVI. His soldiers showed such good will and zeal in his service that those who in their previous campaigns had been in no way superior to others were invincible and irresistible in confronting every danger to enhance Caesar's fame. Such a man, for instance, was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight at Massalia,[1] boarded a hostile ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but clung with the other hand to his shield, and dashing it into the faces of

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[1] Described by Caesar in *Bell. Civ.* ii. 4–7.

πολεμίους ἀπέστρεψε πάντας καὶ τοῦ σκάφους
2 ἐπεκράτησε· τοῦτο δὲ Κάσσιος Σκεύας, ὃς ἐν τῇ
περὶ Δυρράχιον μάχῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπεὶς
τοξεύματι, τὸν δὲ ὦμον ὑσσῷ καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἑτέρῳ
διεληλαμένος, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ βελῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
τριάκοντα πληγὰς ἀναδεδεγμένος, ἐκάλει τοὺς
πολεμίους ὡς παραδώσων ἑαυτόν. δυεῖν δὲ
προσιόντων, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκοψε τὸν ὦμον τῇ
μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου πατάξας
ἀπέστρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διεσώθη τῶν οἰκείων περισχόντων.
3 ἐν δὲ Βρεττανίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τόπον
ἑλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων ἐμπεσοῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις
ταξιάρχοις ἐπιθεμένων στρατιώτης, Καίσαρος
αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶντος, ὠσάμενος εἰς
μέσους καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περίοπτα τόλμης ἀποδειξάμενος
ἔργα τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους ἔσωσε, τῶν
βαρβάρων φυγόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
διαβαίνων ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ῥεύματα τελματώδη,
καὶ μόλις ἄνευ τοῦ θυρεοῦ, τὰ μὲν νηχόμενος, τὰ
4 δὲ βαδίζων, διεπέρασε. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν
περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κραυγῆς
ἀπαντώντων, αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα κατηφὴς καὶ δεδακρυμένος
προσέπεσε τῷ Καίσαρι, συγγνώμην αἰτούμενος
ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν θυρεόν. ἐν δὲ
Λιβύῃ ναῦν ἑλόντες οἱ περὶ Σκηπίωνα Καίσαρος,
ἐν ᾗ Γράνιος Πέτρων ἐπέπλει ταμίας ἀποδεδειγμένος,
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐποιοῦντο λείαν, τῷ δὲ
ταμίᾳ διδόναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν
ὅτι τοῖς Καίσαρος στρατιώταις οὐ λαμβάνειν,
ἀλλὰ διδόναι σωτηρίαν ἔθος ἐστίν, ἑαυτὸν τῷ
ξίφει πατάξας ἀνεῖλε.

his foes, routed them all and got possession of the vessel. Such a man, again, was Cassius Scaeva, who, in the battle at Dyrrhachium, had his eye struck out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another, and received on his shield the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight, he called the enemy to him as though he would surrender. Two of them, accordingly, coming up, he lopped off the shoulder of one with his sword, smote the other in the face and put him to flight, and came off safely himself with the aid of his comrades.[1] Again, in Britain, when the enemy had fallen upon the foremost centurions, who had plunged into a watery marsh, a soldier, while Caesar in person was watching the battle, dashed into the midst of the fight, displayed many conspicuous deeds of daring, and rescued the centurions, after the Barbarians had been routed. Then he himself, making his way with difficulty after all the rest, plunged into the muddy current, and at last, without his shield, partly swimming and partly wading, got across. Caesar and his company were amazed and came to meet the soldier with cries of joy; but he, in great dejection, and with a burst of tears, cast himself at Caesar's feet, begging pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Africa, Scipio captured a ship of Caesar's in which Granius Petro, who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Of the rest of the passengers Scipio made booty, but told the quaestor that he offered him his life. Granius, however, remarking that it was the custom with Caesar's soldiers not to receive but to offer mercy, killed himself with a blow of his sword.

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[1] Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 53

XVII. Τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λήματα καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας
αὐτὸς ἀνέθρεψε καὶ κατεσκεύασε Καῖσαρ,
πρῶτον μὲν τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν ἀφειδῶς
ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι τὸν πλοῦτον οὐκ εἰς τρυφὴν
ἰδίαν οὐδέ τινας ἡδυπαθείας ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἀθροίζει,
κοινὰ δὲ ἆθλα τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παρʼ αὐτῷ
φυλασσόμενα ἀπόκειται, καὶ μέτεστιν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ
πλουτεῖν ὅσα τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν δίδωσιν·
ἔπειτα τῷ πάντα μὲν κίνδυνον ἑκὼν ὑφίστασθαι,
πρὸς μηδένα δὲ τῶν πόνων ἀπαγορεύειν.
2 τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλοκίνδυνον οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον αὐτοῦ
διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπομονὴ
παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν δοκοῦντος
ἐξέπληττεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἕξιν ὢν ἰσχνὸς
καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἁπαλὸς καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
νοσώδης καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς ἔνοχος,
ἐν Κορδύβῃ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς
λέγεται, τούτου προσπεσόντος, οὐ μαλακίας
3 ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρρωστίαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν
τῆς ἀρρωστίας τὴν στρατείαν, ταῖς ἀτρύτοις
ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς εὐτελέσι διαίταις καὶ
τῷ θυραυλεῖν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἀπομαχόμενος
τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ σῶμα τηρῶν δυσάλωτον.
ἐκοιμᾶτο μέν γε τοὺς πλείστους ὕπνους
ἐν ὀχήμασιν ἢ φορείοις, εἰς πρᾶξιν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν
κατατιθέμενος, ὠχεῖτο δὲ μεθʼ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰ
φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς χάρακας, ἑνὸς
αὐτῷ συγκαθημένου παιδὸς τῶν ὑπογράφειν ἅμα
διώκοντος εἰθισμένων, ἑνὸς δʼ ἐξόπισθεν ἐφεστηκότος
4 στρατιώτου ξίφος ἔχοντος. συντόνως δὲ 71
ἤλαυνεν οὕτως ὥστε τὴν πρώτην ἔξοδον ἀπὸ
Ῥώμης ποιησάμενος ὀγδοαῖος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν
ἐλθεῖν.

XVII. Such spirit and ambition Caesar himself created and cultivated in his men, in the first place, because he showed, by his unsparing bestowal of rewards and honours, that he was not amassing wealth from his wars for his own luxury or for any life of ease, but that he treasured it up carefully as a common prize for deeds of valour, and had no greater share in the wealth than he offered to the deserving among his soldiers; and in the second place, by willingly undergoing every danger and refusing no toil. Now, at his love of danger his men were not astonished, knowing his ambition; but that he should undergo toils beyond his body's apparent power of endurance amazed them, because he was of a spare habit, had a soft and white skin, suffered from distemper in the head, and was subject to epileptic fits, a trouble which first attacked him, we are told, in Corduba. Nevertheless, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for soft living, but rather his military service a cure for his feeble health, since by wearisome journeys, simple diet, continuously sleeping in the open air, and enduring hardships, he fought off his trouble and kept his body strong against its attacks. Most of his sleep, at least, he got in cars or litters, making his rest conduce to action, and in the day-time he would have himself conveyed to garrisons, cities, or camps, one slave who was accustomed to write from dictation as he travelled sitting by his side, and one soldier standing behind him with a sword. And he drove so rapidly that, on his first journey from Rome to Gaul, he reached the Rhone in seven days.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἱππεύειν ἐκ παιδὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ῥᾴδιον·
εἴθιστο γὰρ εἰς τοὐπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ἀπάγων καὶ
τῷ νώτῳ περιπλέκων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν τὸν
ἵππον. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ προσεξήσκησεν
ἱππαζόμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑπαγορεύειν καὶ
δυσὶν ὁμοῦ γράφουσιν ἐξαρκεῖν, ὡς δὲ Ὄππιός
5 φησι, καὶ πλείοσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ γραμμάτων
τοῖς φίλοις ὁμιλεῖν Καίσαρα πρῶτον μηχανήσασθαι,
τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔντευξιν ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐπειγόντων τοῦ καιροῦ διά τε πλῆθος ἀσχολιῶν
καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος μὴ περιμένοντος.
τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας κἀκεῖνο ποιοῦνται
σημεῖον, ὅτι τοῦ δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ
ξένου Οὐαλλερίου Λέοντος παραθέντος
ἀσπάραγον καὶ μύρον ἀντ᾽ ἐλαίου καταχέαντος,
αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφελῶς ἔφαγε, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις δυσχεραί-
6 νουσιν ἐπέπληξεν. "Ἤρκει γάρ," ἔφη, "τὸ μὴ
χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπαρέσκουσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην
ἀγροικίαν ἐξελέγχων αὐτός ἐστιν ἄγροικος." ἐν
ὁδῷ δέ ποτε συνελασθεὶς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς ἔπαυλιν
ἀνθρώπου πένητος, ὡς οὐδὲν εὗρε πλέον οἰκήματος
ἑνὸς γλίσχρως ἕνα δέξασθαι δυναμένου,
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐντίμων παραχωρητέον
εἴη τοῖς κρατίστοις, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων
τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις, Ὄππιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύσασθαι·
αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τῷ προστεγίῳ
τῆς θύρας ἐκάθευδεν.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῷ τῶν Κελτικῶν πολέμων πρὸς Ἑλβηττίους συνέστη καὶ Τιγυρίνους, οἳ τὰς αὑτῶν δώδεκα πόλεις καὶ κώμας τετρακοσίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω

Horsemanship, moreover, had been easy for him from boyhood; for he was wont to put his hands behind his back and, holding them closely there, to ride his horse at full speed. And in the Gallic campaigns he practised dictating letters on horseback and keeping two scribes at once busy, or, as Oppius says, even more. We are told, moreover, that Caesar was the first to devise intercourse with his friends by letter, since he could not wait for personal interviews on urgent matters owing to the multitude of his occupations and the great size of the city. Of his indifference in regard to his diet the following circumstance also is brought in proof. When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. "Surely," said he, "it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself." Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man's hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

XVIII. But to resume, the first of his Gallic wars was against the Helvetii and Tigurini,[1] who had set fire to their twelve cities and four hundred villages and were advancing through that part of Gaul which

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[1] Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 2–29.

διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Γαλατίας, ὥσπερ πάλαι
Κίμβροι καὶ Τεύτονες, οὔτε τόλμαν ἐκείνων ὑποδεέστεροι
δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ πλῆθος ὁμαλῶς
τριάκοντα μὲν αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες ὄντες, εἴκοσι δὲ
2 αἱ μαχόμεναι μιᾶς δέουσαι. τούτων Τιγυρίνους
μὲν οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ Λαβιηνὸς πεμφθεὶς ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἄραρα ποταμὸν συνέτριψεν,
Ἑλβηττίων δὲ αὐτῷ πρός τινα πόλιν φίλην
ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ὁδὸν ἀπροσδοκήτως
ἐπιθεμένων φθάσας ἐπὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν κατέφυγε.
κἀκεῖ συναγαγὼν καὶ παρατάξας τὴν
δύναμιν, ὡς ἵππος αὐτῷ προσήχθη, "Τούτῳ
μέν," ἔφη, "νικήσας χρήσομαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν,
νῦν δὲ ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους," καὶ πεζὸς
3 ὁρμήσας ἐνέβαλε. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς
ὠσάμενος τὸ μάχιμον περὶ ταῖς ἁμάξαις καὶ
τῷ χάρακι τὸν πλεῖστον ἔσχε πόνον, οὐκ αὐτῶν
μόνων ὑφισταμένων ἐκεῖ καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παῖδες αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες ἀμυνόμενοι μέχρι
θανάτου συγκατεκόπησαν, ὥστε τὴν μάχην μόλις
4 εἰς μέσας νύκτας τελευτῆσαι. καλῷ δὲ τῷ τῆς
νίκης ἔργῳ κρεῖττον ἐπέθηκε τὸ συνοικίσαι τοὺς
διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν περιόντων βαρβάρων,
καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὴν χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν
ἣν ἀπέλιπον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς διέφθειραν, ὄντας
ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο δεδιὼς
μὴ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον γενομένην οἱ Γερμανοὶ διαβάντες
κατάσχωσι.

XIX. Δεύτερον δὲ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ἄντικρυς
ὑπὲρ Κελτῶν ἐπολέμησε, καίτοι τὸν βασιλέα
πρότερον αὐτῶν Ἀριόβιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σύμμαχον

was subject to the Romans, as once the Cimbri and Teutones had done. To these they were thought to be not inferior in courage and of equal numbers, being three hundred thousand in all, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were crushed at the river Arar, not by Caesar himself, but by Labienus, his deputy; the Helvetii, however, unexpectedly attacked Caesar himself on the march, as he was leading his forces towards a friendly city, but he succeeded in reaching a strong place of refuge. Here, after he had collected and arrayed his forces, a horse was brought to him. "This horse," said he, "I will use for the pursuit after my victory; but now let us go against the enemy," and accordingly led the charge on foot. After a long and hard struggle he routed the enemy's fighting men, but had the most trouble at their rampart of waggons, where not only did the men themselves make a stand and fight, but also their wives and children defended themselves to the death and were cut to pieces with the men. The battle was hardly over by midnight. To the noble work of victory Caesar added a nobler still, that of settling those of the Barbarians who had escaped alive from the battle (there were more than one hundred thousand of them), and compelling them to resume the territory which they had abandoned and the cities which they had destroyed. He did this because he feared that if the territory became vacant the Germans would cross the Rhine and occupy it.

XIX. His second war, directly in defence of the Gauls, was against the Germans,[1] although previously, in Rome, he had made their king Ariovistus

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[1] Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 30–53.

πεποιημένος· ἀλλ᾿ ἦσαν ἀφόρητοι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
αὐτοῦ γείτονες, καὶ καιροῦ παραδόντος οὐκ ἂν
ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀτρεμήσειν, ἀλλ᾿
2 ἐπινεμήσεσθαι καὶ καθέξειν τὴν Γαλατίαν. ὁρῶν
δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀποδειλιῶντας, καὶ μάλιστα
ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ νέων αὐτῷ συνεξῆλθον ὡς
δὴ τρυφῇ χρησόμενοι καὶ χρηματισμῷ τῇ μετὰ 717
Καίσαρος στρατείᾳ, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ γνώμην
οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἔχοντας, αὐτὸς
δὲ ἔφη τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ
τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι, μήτε κρείττοσι
μέλλων Κίμβρων μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις μήτε αὐτὸς
3 ὢν Μαρίου χείρων στρατηγός. ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν
δέκατον τάγμα πρεσβευτὰς ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν
χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
ἐκάκιζον ἡγεμόνας, ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ προθυμίας
γενόμενοι πλήρεις ἅπαντες ἠκολούθουν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν
πολλῶν, ἕως ἐν διακοσίοις τῶν πολεμίων
σταδίοις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτὴν
ἐτέθραυστο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου. Γερμανοῖς
γὰρ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὧν ἐπερχομένων
οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑποστῆναι, μὴ προσδοκήσας
ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Καίσαρος τόλμαν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν
4 ἑώρα τεταραγμένον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
ἤμβλυνε τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν, αἳ
ποταμῶν δίναις προσβλέπουσαι καὶ ῥευμάτων
ἑλιγμοῖς καὶ ψόφοις τεκμαιρόμεναι προεθέσπιζον,

an ally.[1] But they were intolerable neighbours of Caesar's subjects, and if an opportunity presented itself it was thought that they would not remain quietly in their present homes, but would encroach upon and occupy Gaul. Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together[2] and bade them be off, since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him, expressing their gratitude, while the other legions reviled their own commanders, and all the army, now full of impetuous eagerness, followed Caesar on a march of many days, and at last encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Now, the very approach of Caesar somewhat shattered the purpose of Ariovistus. For he did not expect that the Romans would attack the Germans, whose onset he thought they could not withstand, and he was amazed at the boldness of Caesar; besides, he saw that his own army was disturbed. Still more, too, was the spirit of the Germans blunted by the prophecies of their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers and by finding signs in the whirlings and

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[1] Acting as consul, in 59 B.C.

[2] Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 40.

οὐκ ἐῶσαι μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὶν ἐπιλάμψαι νέαν
σελήνην. ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι πυνθανομένῳ καὶ
τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας ὁρῶντι καλῶς ἔχειν
ἔδοξεν ἀπροθύμοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν μᾶλλον
ἢ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναμένοντα καιρὸν καθῆσθαι.
5 καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενος τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ
λόφοις ἐφ' ὧν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ἐξηγρίαινε καὶ
παρώξυνε καταβάντας πρὸς ὀργὴν διαγωνίσασθαι.
γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τροπῆς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ σταδίους
τετρακοσίους ἄχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου διώξας κατέπλησε
τοῦτο πᾶν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ λαφύρων.
Ἀριόβιστος δὲ φθάσας μετ' ὀλίγων διεπέρασε
τὸν Ῥῆνον· ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν μυριάδας ὀκτὼ
γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

XX. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν δύναμιν
ἐν Σηκουανοῖς ἀπέλιπε διαχειμάσουσαν, αὐτὸς
δὲ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ προσέχειν βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν
περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίαν κατέβη, τῆς αὐτῷ δεδομένης
ἐπαρχίας οὖσαν· ὁ γὰρ καλούμενος Ῥουβίκων
ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἄλπεσι
2 Κελτικῆς ὁρίζει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. ἐνταῦθα
καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων,
διδοὺς ὧν ἕκαστος δεηθείη, καὶ πάντας
ἀποπέμπων τὰ μὲν ἔχοντας ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῦ, τὰ
δὲ ἐλπίζοντας. καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον δὲ πάντα
τῆς στρατείας χρόνον ἐλάνθανε τὸν Πομπήϊον
ἐν μέρει νῦν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν
ὅπλοις καταστρεφόμενος, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων χρήμασιν αἱρῶν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ
χειρούμενος.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βέλγας ἤκουσε δυνατωτάτους Κελτῶν
καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἁπάσης τῆς Κελτικῆς νεμομένους

splashings of the waters, and now forbade joining battle before a new moon gave its light. When Caesar learned this, and saw that the Germans kept quiet, he decided that it was a good plan to engage them while they were out of heart, rather than to sit still and wait for their time. So, by attacking their entrenchments and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated them and incited them to come down in anger and fight the issue out. They were signally routed, and Caesar pursued them a distance of four hundred furlongs, as far as the Rhine, and filled all the intervening plain with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, succeeded in crossing the Rhine; his dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After this achievement, Caesar left his forces among the Sequani to spend the winter,[1] while he himself, desirous of giving attention to matters at Rome, came down to Gaul along the Po,[2] which was a part of the province assigned to him; for the river called Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. Here he fixed his quarters and carried on his political schemes. Many came to see him, and he gave each one what he wanted, and sent all away in actual possession of some of his favours and hoping for more. And during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, unnoticed by Pompey, he was alternately subduing the enemy with the arms of the citizens, or capturing and subduing the citizens with the money which he got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae, who were the most powerful of the Gauls and occupied the third

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[1] The winter of 58–57 B.C.

[2] Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 54: ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

*ἀφεστάναι, πολλὰς δή τινας μυριάδας ἐνόπλων
ἀνδρῶν ἠθροικότας, ἐπιστρέψας εὐθὺς ἐχώρει
τάχει πολλῷ· καὶ πορθοῦσι τοὺς συμμάχους
Γαλάτας ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν
ἀθρουστάτους καὶ πλείστους αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισαμένους
τρεψάμενος διέφθειρεν, ὥστε καὶ λίμνας
καὶ ποταμοὺς βαθεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νεκρῶν
4 πλήθει περατοὺς γενέσθαι, τῶν δ’ ἀποστάντων οἱ
μὲν παρωκεάνιοι πάντες ἀμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν·
ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν
τῇδε, Νερβίους, ἐστράτευσεν, οἵπερ εἰς συμμιγεῖς
δρυμοὺς κατῳκημένοι, γενεὰς δὲ καὶ κτήσεις ἔν
τινι βυθῷ τῆς ὕλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων,
αὐτοὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ποιουμένῳ χάρακα καὶ
μὴ προσδεχομένῳ τηνικαῦτα τὴν μάχην ἑξακισμύριοι
τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες αἰφνιδίως προσέπεσον, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων
τὸ δωδέκατον καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον περισχόντες ἅπαντας
5 ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ταξιάρχους. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καῖσαρ
ἁρπάσας τὸν θυρεὸν καὶ διασχὼν τοὺς πρὸ
αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐνέβαλε τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ 71
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ δέκατον κινδυνεύοντος αὐτοῦ
κατέδραμε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων,
οὐδεὶς ἂν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος
τόλμῃ τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μάχην ἀγωνισάμενοι
τρέπονται μὲν οὐδ’ ὣς τοὺς Νερβίους,
κατακόπτουσι δὲ ἀμυνομένους· πεντακόσιοι γὰρ
ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἓξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ
δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων.*

part of all their country, had revolted, and had assembled unknown myriads of armed men, he turned back at once and marched thither with great speed.[1] He fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them, after a disgraceful struggle on their part, that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them. All the rebels who dwelt along the ocean submitted without a battle; against the Nervii, however, the most savage and warlike of the people in these parts, Caesar led his forces. The Nervii, who dwelt in dense woods, and had placed their families and possessions in a recess of the forest at farthest remove from the enemy, at a time when Caesar was fortifying a camp and did not expect the battle, fell upon him suddenly, sixty thousand strong. They routed his cavalry, and surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions and slew all their centurions, and had not Caesar snatched a shield,[2] made his way through the combatants in front of him, and hurled himself upon the Barbarians; and had not the tenth legion, at sight of his peril, run down from the heights and cut the ranks of the enemy to pieces, not a Roman, it is thought, would have survived. As it was, however, owing to Caesar's daring, they fought beyond their powers, as the saying is, and even then did not rout the Nervii, but cut them down as they defended themselves; for out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have come off alive, and only three of their senators out of four hundred.

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[1] Caesar's campaign against the Belgae, in 57 B.C., is described by himself in *B.G.* ii. 1–33.

[2] Scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto (*B.G.* ii. 25, 2).

XXI. Ταῦτα ἡ σύγκλητος πυθομένη πεντεκαί-
δεκα ἡμέρας ἐψηφίσατο θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
σχολάζειν ἑορτάζοντας, ὅσας ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ νίκῃ
πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐφάνη μέγας,
ἐθνῶν ἅμα τοσούτων ἀναρραγέντων, καὶ τὸ νίκημα
λαμπρότερον, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἦν ὁ νικῶν, ἡ πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον εὔνοια τῶν πολλῶν ἐποίει. Καῖσαρ δ'
αὐτὸς[1] εὖ θέμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πάλιν
ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πάδον χωρίοις διεχείμαζε συσκευα-
2 ζόμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς
παραγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ χρώμενοι χορηγῷ καὶ
τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου χρήμασι διαφθείροντες τὸν
δῆμον ἀνηγορεύοντο, καὶ πᾶν ἔπραττον ὃ τὴν
ἐκείνου δύναμιν αὔξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων οἱ πλεῖστοι
συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Λοῦκαν, Πομπήϊός τε
καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἄππιος ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος ἡγεμὼν
καὶ Νέπως ὁ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀνθύπατος, ὥστε
ῥαβδούχους μὲν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι γενέσθαι, συγκλη-
τικοὺς δὲ πλείονας ἢ διακοσίους.

3 Βουλὴν δὲ θέμενοι διεκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις·
ἔδει Πομπήϊον μὲν καὶ Κράσσον ὑπάτους ἀποδει-
χθῆναι, Καίσαρι δὲ χρήματα καὶ πενταετίαν ἄλλην
ἐπιμετρηθῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὃ καὶ παραλογώ-
τατον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν. οἱ γὰρ το-
σαῦτα χρήματα παρὰ Καίσαρος λαμβάνοντες ὡς
οὐκ ἔχοντι διδόναι τὴν βουλὴν ἔπειθον, μᾶλλον
δὲ ἠνάγκαζον ἐπιστένουσαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο, Κάτω-
4 νος μὲν οὐ παρόντος, ἐπίτηδες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς

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[1] Καῖσαρ δ' αὐτὸς Sint.^{2}; αὐτὸς δ' Bekker; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς MSS., Sint.^{1}, and Coraës.

XXI. The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for fifteen days, a greater number than for any victory before.[1] For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because Caesar was the victor, the good will of the multitude towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter[2] in the regions along the Po, carrying out his plans at Rome. For not only did the candidates for office there enjoy his assistance, and win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca,[3] including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators.

They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way on a

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[1] Quod ante id tempus accidit nulli (Caesar, *B.G.* ii. 35, 4).

[2] 57–56 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, li. 3 f.

[3] In April of 56 B.C.

Κύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσαντο, Φαωνίου δέ, ὃς ἦν ζηλωτὴς Κάτωνος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἀντιλέγων, ἐξαλλομένου διὰ θυρῶν καὶ βοῶντος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος. ἀλλὰ προσεῖχεν οὐδείς, τῶν μὲν Πομπήϊον αἰδουμένων καὶ Κράσσον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι Καίσαρι χαριζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ζῶντες ἐλπίδας ἡσύχαζον.

XXII. Τραπόμενος δὲ αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ δυνάμεις πολὺν καταλαμβάνει πόλεμον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, δύο Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν μεγάλων ἐπὶ κατακτήσει γῆς ἄρτι τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβεβηκότων· Οὐσίπας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑτέρους, 2 τοὺς δὲ Τεντερίτας. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τούτους γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι γέγραφεν ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι διαπρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπιθοῖντο καθ' ὁδόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρέψαιντο τοὺς αὐτοῦ πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας ἱππεῖς ὀκτακοσίοις τοῖς ἐκείνων μὴ προσδοκῶντας· εἶτα πέμψειαν ἑτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐξαπατῶντας, οὓς κατασχὼν ἐπαγάγοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν πρὸς οὕτως ἀπίστους καὶ παρασπόνδους πίστιν εὐήθειαν ἡγούμενος. 3 Τανύσιος δὲ λέγει Κάτωνα, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ψηφιζομένης ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας, ἀποφήνασθαι γνώμην ὡς ἐκδοτέον ἐστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀφοσιουμένους τὸ παρασπόνδημα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν εἰς τὸν αἴτιον τρέποντας.

Τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπεῖσαι τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-

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[1] Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxxiv.

mission to Cyprus,[1] and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

XXII. On returning to his forces in Gaul,[2] Caesar found a considerable war in the country, since two great German nations had just crossed the Rhine to possess the land, one called the Usipes,[3] the other the Tenteritae.[3] Concerning the battle which was fought with them Caesar says in his "Commentaries"[4] that the Barbarians, while treating with him under a truce, attacked on their march and therefore routed his five thousand cavalry with their eight hundred, since his men were taken off their guard; that they then sent other envoys to him who tried to deceive him again, but he held them fast and led his army against the Barbarians, considering that good faith towards such faithless breakers of truces was folly. But Tanusius says that when the senate voted sacrifices of rejoicing over the victory, Cato pronounced the opinion that they ought to deliver up Caesar to the Barbarians, thus purging away the violation of the truce in behalf of the city, and turning the curse therefor on the guilty man.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul four hundred thousand were cut to pieces, and the

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[2] In 55 B.C. Plutarch passes over Caesar's campaign of 56 B.C. in Gaul, following the conference at Luca. Caesar describes it in *B.G.* iii.

[3] Caesar calls them Usipetes and Tencteri (*B.G.* iv. 1).

[4] *B.G.* iv. 13.

περάσαντας αὖθις ὑπεδέξαντο Σούγαμβροι, Γερμανικὸν
4 ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄλλως δὲ δόξης ἐφιέμενος καὶ
τοῦ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων στρατῷ διαβῆναι τὸν
Ῥῆνον, ἐγεφύρου πλάτος τε πολὺν ὄντα καὶ κατ'
ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πόρου μάλιστα πλημμυροῦντα καὶ
τραχὺν καὶ ῥοώδη καὶ τοῖς καταφερομένοις στελέχεσι
καὶ ξύλοις πληγὰς καὶ σπαραγμοὺς
ἐνδιδόντα κατὰ τῶν ἐρειδόντων τὴν γέφυραν. 71

5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα προβόλοις ξύλων μεγάλων διὰ τοῦ πόρου καταπεπηγότων ἀναδεχόμενος, καὶ χαλινώσας τὸ προσπῖπτον ῥεῦμα τῷ ζεύγματι, πίστεως πάσης θέαμα κρεῖττον ἐπεδείξατο τὴν γέφυραν ἡμέραις δέκα συντελεσθεῖσαν.

XXIII. Περαιώσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδενὸς ὑπαντῆσαι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικωτάτων τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σούηβων εἰς βαθεῖς καὶ ὑλώδεις αὐλῶνας ἀνασκευασαμένων, πυρπολήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, θαρρύνας δὲ τοὺς ἀεὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσπαζομένους, ἀνεχώρησεν αὖθις εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἴκοσι δυεῖν δεούσας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Γερμανικῇ διατετριφώς.

2 Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατεία τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἶχεν ὀνομαστήν· πρῶτος γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἑσπέριον Ὠκεανὸν ἐπέβη στόλῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον κομίζων ἔπλευσε· καὶ νῆσον ἀπιστουμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους καὶ πολλὴν ἔριν παμπόλλοις συγγραφεῦσι παρασχοῦσαν, ὡς ὄνομα καὶ λόγος οὐ γενομένης οὐδὲ οὔσης πέπλασται, κατασχεῖν ἐπιθέμενος προήγαγεν ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων

few who succeeded in making their way back were received by the Sugambri, a German nation. This action Caesar made a ground of complaint against the Sugambri, and besides, he coveted the fame of being the first man to cross the Rhine with an army. He therefore began to bridge the river,[1] although it was very broad, and at this point in its course especially swollen, rough, and impetuous, and with the trunks and branches of trees which it bore down stream kept smiting and tearing away the supports of his bridge. But Caesar caught up these trunks and branches with bulwarks of great timbers planted across the stream, and having thus bridled and yoked the dashing current, he brought his bridge—sight beyond all credence—to completion in ten days.

XXIII. He now threw his forces across the river. No one ventured to oppose him, but even the Suevi, who were the foremost nation of the Germans, bestowed themselves and their belongings in deep and woody defiles. Caesar ravaged the country of the enemy with fire, gave encouragement to the constant friends of Rome, and then retired again into Gaul, having spent eighteen days in Germany.

His expedition against the Britanni was celebrated for its daring. For he was the first to launch a fleet upon the western ocean and to sail through the Atlantic sea carrying an army to wage war. The island was of incredible magnitude, and furnished much matter of dispute to multitudes of writers, some of whom averred that its name and story had been fabricated, since it never had existed and did not then exist; and in his attempt to occupy it he carried the Roman supremacy beyond the confines of

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[1] *B.G.* iv. 16–19.

3 ἡγεμονίαν. δὶς δὲ διαπλεύσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας Γαλατίας, καὶ μάχαις πολλαῖς κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους ὠφελήσας, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ λαβεῖν ἦν ἄξιον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων καὶ πενήτων, οὐχ οἷον ἐβούλετο τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁμήρους λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταξάμενος φόρους ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου.

4 Καὶ καταλαμβάνει γράμματα μέλλοντα διαπλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτήν· τελευτᾷ δὲ τίκτουσα παρὰ Πομπηΐῳ. καὶ μέγα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔσχε Πομπήϊον, μέγα δὲ Καίσαρα πένθος, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνεταράχθησαν ὡς τῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τἆλλα νοσοῦσαν τὴν πολιτείαν φυλαττούσης οἰκειότητος λελυμένης· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βρέφος εὐθὺς οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν μητέρα διαζῆσαν ἐτελεύτησε. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἰουλίαν βίᾳ τῶν δημάρχων ἀράμενον τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον ἤνεγκε πεδίον, κἀκεῖ κηδευθεῖσα κεῖται.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος μεγάλην ἤδη τὴν δύναμιν οὖσαν εἰς πολλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην χειμάδια διελόντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τραπομένου, πάντα μὲν αὖθις ἀνερρήγνυτο τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ στρατοὶ μεγάλοι περιϊόντες ἐξέκοπτον τὰ χειμάδια καὶ προσεμάχοντο τοῖς χαρακώμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀποστάντων μετὰ Ἀβριόριγος Κότταν μὲν αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ Τιτύριον διέ-

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[1] Once in 55 B.C. (*B.G.* iv. 20–36); again in 54 B.C. (*B.G.* v. 1–22).

the inhabited world. After twice[1] crossing to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul and in many battles damaging the enemy rather than enriching his own men—for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived in poverty and wretchedness—he brought the war to an end which was not to his liking, it is true; still, he took hostages from the king, imposed tributes, and then sailed away from the island.

In Gaul he found letters which were about to be sent across to him. They were from his friends in Rome, and advised him of his daughter's death; she died in child-birth at Pompey's house. Great was the grief of Pompey, and great the grief of Caesar, and their friends were greatly troubled too; they felt that the relationship which alone kept the distempered state in harmony and concord was now dissolved. For the babe also died presently, after surviving its mother a few days. Now Julia, in spite of the tribunes, was carried by the people to the Campus Martius, where her funeral rites were held, and where she lies buried.[2]

XXIV. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to distribute them in many winter-quarters, while he himself, as his custom was, turned his steps towards Italy. Then all Gaul once more broke out in revolt,[3] and great armies went about attacking the entrenchments and trying to destroy the winter-quarters of the Romans. The most numerous and powerful of the rebels, under Abriorix,[4] utterly destroyed Titurius and Cotta, together with

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[2] Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liii.
[3] Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* v. 24–51.
[4] Caesar calls him Ambiorix.

2 φθειραν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ Κικέρωνι τάγμα μυριάσιν ἓξ
περισχόντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλιπον
ᾑρηκέναι κατὰ κράτος, συντετρωμένων ἁπάντων
καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀμυνομένων.

Ὡς δὲ ἠγγέλθη ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι μακρὰν
ὄντι, ταχέως ἐπιστρέψας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἑπτακισχιλίους
τοὺς σύμπαντας ἠπείγετο τὸν Κικέρωνα
τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξαιρησόμενος. τοὺς δὲ πολιορκοῦντας
οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπήντων ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι,
3 τῆς ὀλιγότητος καταφρονήσαντες. κἀκεῖνος
ἐξαπατῶν ὑπέφευγεν ἀεί, καὶ χωρία λαβὼν
ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχομένῳ μετ᾽
ὀλίγων φράγνυται στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχης ἔσχε
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάσης, ἀναγαγεῖν δὲ τὸν χάρακα καὶ
τὰς πύλας ἀνοικοδομεῖν ὡς δεδοικότας ἠνάγκαζε,
καταφρονηθῆναι στρατηγῶν, μέχρι οὗ σποράδην
ὑπὸ θράσους προσβάλλοντας ἐπεξελθὼν ἐτρέψατο
καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

XXV. Τοῦτο τὰς πολλὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν ἐνταῦθα
Γαλατῶν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τε πανταχόσε καὶ προσέχων
ὀξέως τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἧκεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας 72
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ τρία τάγματα,
Πομπηΐου μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑφ᾽ αὐτῷ δύο χρήσαντος, ἓν
δὲ νεοσύλλεκτον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίας.
2 πόρρω δὲ τούτων αἱ πάλαι καταβεβλημέναι κρύφα
καὶ νεμόμεναι διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν

their army, while the legion under Cicero was surrounded and besieged by sixty thousand of them, and narrowly escaped having its camp taken by storm, although all were wounded and went beyond their powers in the ardour of their defence.

When tidings of these things reached Caesar, who was far on his journey, he turned back quickly, got together seven thousand men in all, and hurried on to extricate Cicero from the siege. But the besiegers became aware of his approach, and went to meet him with the purpose of cutting his forces off at once, despising their small numbers. Caesar deceived them by avoiding battle continually, and when he had found a place suitable for one who was fighting against many with few, fortified a camp, where he kept his men altogether from fighting and forced them to increase the height of their ramparts and the defences of their gates as though they were afraid. His strategy thus led the enemy to despise him, until at last, when their boldness led them to attack in scattered bands, he sallied out, routed them, and destroyed many of them.

XXV. The numerous revolts of the Gauls in those parts were quieted by this success, as well as by the fact that Caesar himself, during the winter, went about in all directions and kept close watch on the disturbers of the peace. For there had come from Italy three legions to replace the men that he had lost, Pompey having lent two of those under his command, and one having been newly levied in Gaul about the Po. But in remoter regions[1] the germs of the greatest and most dangerous of the wars waged in

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[1] Plutarch here passes over the events of the year 53 B.C., described by Caesar in *B.G.* vi. The seventh book is wholly taken up with the war now to be described (52 B.C.).

ἐν τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις γένεσιν ἀρχαὶ τοῦ μεγίστου
καὶ κινδυνωδεστάτου τῶν ἐκεῖ πολέμων ἀνεφαίνοντο,
ῥωσθεῖσαι πολλῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ πανταχόθεν
ὅπλοις ἀθροισθείσῃ,[1] μεγάλοις δὲ πλούτοις
εἰς ταὐτὸ συνενεχθεῖσιν, ἰσχυραῖς δὲ πόλεσι,
3 δυσεμβόλοις δὲ χώραις. τότε δὲ καὶ χειμῶνος
ὥρᾳ πάγοι ποταμῶν καὶ νιφετοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένοι
δρυμοὶ καὶ πεδία χειμάρροις ἐπιλελιμνασμένα,
καὶ πῇ μὲν ἀτέκμαρτοι βάθει χιόνος ἀτραποί, πῇ
δὲ δι' ἑλῶν καὶ ῥευμάτων παρατρεπομένων ἀσάφεια
πολλὴ τῆς πορείας παντάπασιν ἐδόκουν ἀνεπιχείρητα
Καίσαρι τὰ τῶν ἀφισταμένων ποιεῖν.
ἀφειστήκει μὲν οὖν πολλὰ φῦλα, πρόσχημα δὲ
ἦσαν Ἀρβέρνοι καὶ Καρνουτῖνοι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν
αἱρεθεὶς κράτος εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ,
οὗ τὸν πατέρα Γαλάται τυραννίδα δοκοῦντα πράττειν
ἀπέκτειναν.

XXVI. Οὗτος οὖν εἰς πολλὰ διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν
μέρη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνας ᾠκειοῦτο
τὴν πέριξ ἅπασαν ἄχρι τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἄραρα
κεκλιμένων, διανοούμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνισταμένων
ἐπὶ Καίσαρα σύμπασαν ἐγείρειν τῷ
πολέμῳ Γαλατίαν. ὅπερ εἰ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔπραξε,
Καίσαρος εἰς τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἐμπεσόντος πόλεμον,
οὐκ ἂν ἐλαφρότεροι τῶν Κιμβρικῶν ἐκείνων
2 φόβοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατέσχον. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ πᾶσι
μὲν ἄριστα χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον, μάλιστα
δὲ καιρῷ πεφυκὼς Καῖσαρ ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν
ἀπόστασιν ἄρας ἐχώρει ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς ἃς

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[1] ἀθροισθείσῃ Sint. with the MSS.; Coraës and Bekker read ἀθροισθεῖσι (*arms collected from all sides*) with the Aldine ed.

those parts began to show themselves. They had for a long time been secretly sown and cultivated by the most influential men among the most warlike tribes, and derived strength from large bodies of young men assembled from all sides in arms, from great riches brought together, from strong cities, and from countries which were hard to invade. At that season of winter, too, frozen rivers, forests buried in snow, plains converted into lakes by winter torrents, in some parts paths obliterated by deep snow, and in others the great uncertainty of a march through swamps and streams diverted from their courses, all seemed to make it wholly impossible for Caesar to oppose the plans of the rebels. Accordingly, many tribes had revolted, but the head and front of the revolt were the Arverni and Carnuntini,[1] and Vergentorix[1] was chosen to have the entire authority in the war. His father the Gauls had put to death because they thought he was aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. This leader, then, after dividing his forces into many parts and putting many officers in command of them, was winning over all the country round about as far as the water-shed of the Arar. He purposed, now that there was a coalition at Rome against Caesar, at once to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had done this a little later, when Caesar was involved in the civil war, Italy would have been a prey to terrors no less acute than those aroused by the Cimbri of old. But as it was, the man endowed by nature to make the best use of all the arts of war, and particularly of its crucial moments, namely Caesar, as soon as he learned of the revolt, set out and marched by the same roads over which

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[1] In Caesar's *B.G.* the names are Carnutes and Vercingetorix.

διῆλθε, καὶ βίᾳ καὶ τάχει τῆς πορείας διὰ τοσούτου
χειμῶνος ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς
ἄμαχος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀήττητος ἔπεισι στρατός.
ὅπου γὰρ ἄγγελον ἢ γραμματοφόρον διαδῦναι τῶν
παρ' αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἦν ἄπιστον, ἐνταῦθα
μετὰ πάσης ἑωρᾶτο τῆς στρατιᾶς ἅμα χώρας
λυμαινόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκκόπτων τὰ χωρία,
3 καταστρεφόμενος πόλεις, ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς μετατιθεμένους,
μέχρι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἐδούων ἔθνος
ἐξεπολεμώθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οἳ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
ἀδελφοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες αὑτοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ
τιμώμενοι διαπρεπῶς, τότε δὲ τοῖς ἀποστάταις
προσγενόμενοι πολλὴν τῇ Καίσαρος στρατιᾷ
περιέστησαν ἀθυμίαν. διόπερ καὶ κινήσας ἐκεῖθεν
ὑπερέβαλε τὰ Λιγγονικά, βουλόμενος ἅψασθαι
τῆς Σηκουανῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ προκειμένων τῆς
4 Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ περισχόντων
μυριάσι πολλαῖς, ὁρμήσας διαγωνίσασθαι
τοῖς μὲν ὅλοις καταπολεμῶν ἐκράτησε, χρόνῳ
πολλῷ καὶ φόνῳ καταβιασάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ
δεικνύουσιν Ἀρβέρνοι ξιφίδιον πρὸς ἱερῷ κρεμάμενον,
ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. ὃ θεασάμενος
αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν
κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν, ἱερὸν ἡγούμενος.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τῶν διαφυγόντων οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πόλιν Ἀλησίαν συνέφυγον. καὶ πολιορκοῦντι ταύτην Καί-

he had previously come, and by the vigour and speed of his passage in so severe a winter showed the Barbarians that an unconquered and invincible army was coming against them. For where it was incredible that one of his messengers or letter-carriers could make his way in a long time, there he was seen with his whole army, at once ravaging their lands and destroying their strongholds, subduing cities, and receiving those who came over to his side, until the nation of the Aedui also entered the war against him. These up to this time had called themselves brethren of the Romans and had been conspicuously honoured, but now, by joining the rebels, they caused great dejection in Caesar's army. In consequence of this Caesar removed from those parts and passed across the territory of the Lingones, wishing to reach the country of the Sequani, who were friends, and stood as a bulwark between Italy and the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and surrounded him with many tens of thousands, so that he essayed to fight a decisive battle. In the main he got the best of the struggle, and after a long time and much slaughter overpowered the Barbarians; but it appears that at first he met with some reverse, and the Arverni show a short-sword hanging in a temple, which they say was captured from Caesar. When Caesar himself saw it, at a later time, he smiled, and though his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not permit it, considering it sacred.

XXVII. However, the most of the Barbarians who escaped at that time took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. And while Caesar was besieging

*σαρι δοκοῦσαν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μεγέθει τε τειχῶν
καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπομαχομένων ἐπιπίπτει παντὸς
2 λόγου μείζων κίνδυνος ἔξωθεν. ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἐν
Γαλατίᾳ κράτιστον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθροισθέν, ἐν
ὅπλοις ἧκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλησίαν τριάκοντα μυριάδες·
αἱ δʼ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν μαχομένων οὐκ ἐλάττονες
ἦσαν ἑπτακαίδεκα μυριάδων, ὥστε ἐν μέσῳ πολέμου
τοσούτου τὸν Καίσαρα κατειλημμένον καὶ
πολιορκούμενον ἀναγκασθῆναι διττὰ τείχη προβαλέσθαι,
τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν* 72
*ἐπεληλυθότων, ὡς, εἰ συνέλθοιεν αἱ δυνάμεις,
κομιδῇ διαπεπραγμένων τῶν καθʼ αὑτόν.*
3 *Διὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ πρὸς Ἀλησίᾳ
κίνδυνος ἔσχε δόξαν, ὡς ἔργα τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος
οἷα τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνων οὐδεὶς παρασχόμενος,
μάλιστα δὲ ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ
πόλει Καίσαρα τοσαύταις μυριάσι ταῖς ἔξω συμβαλόντα
καὶ περιγενόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων τοὺς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τεῖχος φυλάττοντας.*
4 *οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ᾔσθοντο τὴν νίκην ἢ
κλαυθμὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλησίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοπετὸν
γυναικῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, θεασαμένων ἄρα κατὰ θάτερα
μέρη πολλοὺς μὲν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένους
θυρεούς, πολλοὺς δὲ αἵματι πεφυρμένους
θώρακας, ἔτι δʼ ἐκπώματα καὶ σκηνὰς
Γαλατικὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
κομιζομένας. οὕτως ὀξέως ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις,
ὥσπερ εἴδωλον ἢ ὄνειρον, ἠφάνιστο καὶ διεπεφόρητο,*
5 *τῶν πλείστων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων. οἱ
δὲ τὴν Ἀλησίαν ἔχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα
παρασχόντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Καίσαρι τέλος παρέ-*

this city, which was thought to be impregnable by reason of the great size of its walls and the number of their defenders, there fell upon him from outside the city a peril too great for words to depict. For all that was mightiest among the nations of Gaul assembled and came in arms to Alesia, three hundred thousand strong; and the number of fighting men inside the city was not less than a hundred and seventy thousand. Thus Caesar, caught between so large hostile forces and besieged there, was compelled to build two walls for his protection, one looking towards the city, and the other towards those who had come up to relieve it; he felt that if the two forces should unite his cause was wholly lost.

For many reasons, then, and naturally, Caesar's peril at Alesia was famous, since it produced more deeds of skill and daring than any of his other struggles; but one must be amazed above all that he engaged and conquered so many tens of thousands outside the city without the knowledge of those inside, nay more, without the knowledge even of the Romans who were guarding the wall that faced the city. For these did not learn of the victory until the wailing of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women were heard, as they beheld in the quarters of the enemy many shields adorned with gold and silver, many corselets smeared with blood, and also drinking cups and tents of Gallic fashion carried by the Romans into their camp. So quickly did so great a force, like a phantom or a dream, disperse and vanish out of sight, the greater part of them having fallen in the battle. Those who held Alesia, too, after giving themselves and Caesar no small trouble, finally surrendered.

δοσαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγεμὼν πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὅπλων τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἵππον ἐξιππάσατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καθεζόμενον ἐλάσας, εἶτα ἀφαλόμενος τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μὲν πανοπλίαν ἀπέρριψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθίσας ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἄχρι οὗ παρεδόθη φρουρησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

XXVIII. Καίσαρι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐδέδοκτο καταλύειν
Πομπήϊον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀκείνῳ τοῦτον·
Κράσσου γὰρ ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλότος, ὃς ἦν
ἔφεδρος ἀμφοῖν, ἀπελείπετο τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
γενέσθαι μεγίστῳ τὸν ὄντα καταλύειν, τῷ δέ, ἵνα
2 μὴ πάθῃ τοῦτο, προαναιρεῖν ὃν ἐδεδοίκει. τοῦτο
δὲ Πομπηΐῳ μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγου φοβεῖσθαι παρέστη
τέως ὑπερορῶντι Καίσαρος, ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔργον
ὃν αὐτὸς ηὔξησε καταλυθῆναι πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πεποιημένος,
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς
ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος
πολέμοις ἐπήσκησε μὲν τὴν δύναμιν,
3 ηὔξησε δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰς
ἀντίπαλον ἀρθεὶς τοῖς Πομπηΐου κατορθώμασι,
λαμβάνων προφάσεις τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ Πομπηΐου,
τὰς δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ἐνδιδόντων καὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
κακοπολιτείας, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἀρχὰς μετιόντες ἐν
μέσῳ θέμενοι τραπέζας ἐδέκαζον ἀναισχύντως τὰ
πλήθη, κατῄει δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔμμισθος, οὐ ψήφοις

And the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, after putting on his most beautiful armour and decorating his horse, rode out through the gate. He made a circuit round Caesar, who remained seated, and then leaped down from his horse, stripped off his suit of armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet remained motionless, until he was delivered up to be kept in custody for the triumph.

XXVIII. Now, Caesar had long ago decided to put down Pompey, just as, of course, Pompey also had decided to put Caesar down. For now that Crassus, who was only waiting for the issue of their struggle to engage the victor,[1] had perished among the Parthians, it remained for him who would be greatest to put down him who was, and for him who was greatest, if he would not be put down, to take off in time the man he feared. This fear had only recently come upon Pompey, who till then despised Caesar, feeling that it was no hard task to put down again the man whom he himself had raised on high. But Caesar had from the outset formed this design, and like an athlete had removed himself to a great distance from his antagonists, and by exercising himself in the Gallic wars had practised his troops and increased his fame, lifting himself by his achievements to a height where he could vie with the successes of Pompey. He laid hold of pretexts which were furnished partly by Pompey himself, and partly by the times and the evil state of government at Rome,[2] by reason of which candidates for office set up counting-tables in public and shamelessly bribed the multitudes, while the people went down into the forum under pay, contending in behalf of their

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, liii. 6.

[2] Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liv.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἀλλὰ τόξοις καὶ ξίφεσι καὶ
4 σφενδόναις ἁμιλλώμενος. αἵματι δὲ καὶ νεκροῖς
πολλάκις αἰσχύναντες τὸ βῆμα διεκρίθησαν, ἀναρχίᾳ
τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ ἀκυβέρνητον ναῦν[1] ὑποφερομένην
ἀπολιπόντες, ὥστε τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀγαπᾶν
εἰ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαν
ἐκ τοιαύτης παραφροσύνης καὶ τοσούτου κλύδωνος
ἐκπεσεῖται τὰ πράγματα. πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ
καὶ λέγειν ἐν μέσῳ τολμῶντες ἤδη πλὴν ὑπὸ
μοναρχίας ἀνήκεστον εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ
φάρμακον τοῦτο χρῆναι τοῦ πρᾳοτάτου τῶν ἰατρῶν
ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος, ὑποδηλοῦντες
5 τὸν Πομπήϊον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνος λόγῳ παραιτεῖσθαι
καλλωπιζόμενος ἔργῳ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπέραινεν
ἐξ ὧν ἀναδειχθήσοιτο δικτάτωρ, συμφρονήσαντες
οἱ περὶ Κάτωνα πείθουσι τὴν γερουσίαν
ὕπατον αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μόνον, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιτο
δικτάτωρ γενέσθαι, νομιμωτέρᾳ μοναρχίᾳ παρηγορηθείς.
οἱ δὲ καὶ χρόνον ἐπεψηφίσαντο τῶν
ἐπαρχιῶν· δύο δὲ εἶχεν, Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Λιβύην
σύμπασαν, ἃς διῴκει πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλων
καὶ στρατεύματα τρέφων, οἷς ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ
δημοσίου ταμιείου χίλια τάλαντα καθ' ἕκαστον
ἐνιαυτόν.

XXIX. Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ ὑπατείαν ἐμνᾶτο 72
πέμπων, καὶ χρόνον ὁμοίως τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαρχιῶν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Πομπηΐου σιωπῶντος οἱ περὶ
Μάρκελλον καὶ Λέντλον ἠναντιοῦντο, μισοῦντες
ἄλλως Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα
προστιθέντες εἰς ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προ-
2 πηλακισμόν. Νεοκωμίτας γὰρ ἔναγχος ὑπὸ

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[1] ναῦν supplied by Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske.

paymaster, not with votes, but with bows and arrows, swords, and slings. Often, too, they would defile the rostra with blood and corpses before they separated, leaving the city to anarchy like a ship drifting about without a steersman, so that men of understanding were content if matters issued in nothing worse for them than monarchy, after such madness and so great a tempest. And there were many who actually dared to say in public that nothing but monarchy could now cure the diseases of the state, and that this remedy ought to be adopted when offered by the gentlest of physicians, hinting at Pompey. And when even Pompey, although in words he affected to decline the honour, in fact did more than any one else to effect his appointment as dictator, Cato saw through his design and persuaded the senate to appoint him sole consul, solacing him with a more legal monarchy that he might not force his way to the dictatorship. They also voted him additional time in which to hold his provinces; and he had two, Spain and all Africa, which he managed by sending legates thither and maintaining armies there, for which he received from the public treasury a thousand talents annually.[1]

XXIX. Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first, then, Pompey held his peace, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lv. 7.

Καίσαρος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ κατῳκισμένους ἀφῃροῦντο
τῆς πολιτείας· καὶ Μάρκελλος ὑπατεύων ἕνα
τῶν ἐκεῖ βουλευτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενον
ᾔκιστο ῥάβδοις, ἐπιλέγων ὡς ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ
Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι παράσημα προστίθησιν αὐτῷ,
καὶ δεικνύειν ἀπιόντα Καίσαρι ἐκέλευε.[1] μετὰ
δὲ Μάρκελλον, ἤδη Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν
πλοῦτον ἀρύεσθαι ῥύδην ἀφεικότος πᾶσι τοῖς
πολιτευομένοις, καὶ Κουρίωνα μὲν δημαρχοῦντα
3 πολλῶν ἐλευθερώσαντος δανείων, Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπατεύοντι
χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος,
ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκεῖνος, ὀνομαστὸν
ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόσμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς
Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὴ φοβηθεὶς τὴν
σύστασιν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη δι' ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ τῶν φίλων ἔπραττεν ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχον
Καίσαρι τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ πέμπων ἀπῄτει τοὺς
στρατιώτας οὓς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Κελτικοὺς
ἀγῶνας. ὁ δὲ ἀποπέμπει, δωρησάμενος
ἕκαστον ἄνδρα πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς.
4 οἱ δὲ τούτους Πομπηΐῳ κομίσαντες εἰς μὲν
τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς κατέσπειραν
λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος, αὐτὸν δὲ
Πομπήϊον ἐλπίσι κεναῖς διέφθειραν, ὡς ποθούμενον
ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος στρατιᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἐνταῦθα διὰ φθόνον πολιτείας ὑπούλου μόλις
ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἑτοίμης ὑπαρχούσης
αὐτῷ, κἂν μόνον ὑπερβάλωσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
εὐθὺς ἐσομένης πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· οὕτως γεγονέναι τὸν

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[1] So Coraës and Bekker with the MSS.; Sint.^{2} corrects to κελεύει.

colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him besides that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and bade him go back and show them to Caesar. But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having now sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the Basilica,[1] a famous monument, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.[2] Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas. But the officers who brought these men to Pompey spread abroad among the multitude stories regarding Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and ruined Pompey himself with vain hopes. They told him that Caesar's army yearned for him, and that while he was with difficulty controlling affairs in the city owing to the disease of envy which festered in the body politic, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so obnoxious to

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[1] The Basilica Pauli Aemilii, called also Regia Pauli. It took the place of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia, erected in 179 B.C.

[2] See chapter XXV. 1

Καίσαρα πλήθει στρατειῶν λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ
5 φόβῳ μοναρχίας ὕποπτον. ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήϊος
ἐχαυνοῦτο· καὶ παρασκευῆς μὲν ἠμέλει
στρατιωτῶν, ὡς μὴ δεδοικώς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ γνώμαις
κατεπολιτεύετο τῷ δοκεῖν Καίσαρα, καταψηφιζόμενος
ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν· ἀλλὰ
καὶ λέγεταί τινα τῶν ἀφιγμένων παρ' αὐτοῦ
ταξιάρχων ἑστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ
πυθόμενον ὡς οὐ δίδωσιν ἡ γερουσία Καίσαρι
χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, "'Αλλ' αὕτη" φάναι "δώσει,"
κρούσαντα τῇ χειρὶ τὴν λαβὴν τῆς μαχαίρας.

XXX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἥ γε παρὰ Καίσαρος
ἀξίωσις τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δικαιολογίας λαμπρὸν
εἶχεν. ἠξίου γὰρ αὐτός τε καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα,
καὶ Πομπηΐου ταὐτὸ πράξαντος ἀμφοτέρους
ἰδιώτας γενομένους εὑρίσκεσθαί τι παρὰ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀγαθόν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀφαιρουμένους,
ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἣν εἶχε βεβαιοῦντας δύναμιν,
ἕτερον διαβάλλοντας ἕτερον κατασκευάζειν τύραννον.
2 ταῦτα προκαλούμενος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Κουρίων
ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐκροτεῖτο λαμπρῶς· οἱ δὲ καὶ
στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀνθοβολοῦντες
ἠφίεσαν. 'Αντώνιος δὲ δημαρχῶν Καίσαρος
ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν κομισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος
ἐξήνεγκε καὶ ἀνέγνω βίᾳ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐν δὲ
τῇ βουλῇ Σκηπίων μὲν ὁ Πομπηΐου πενθερὸς

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lviii. 2.

them had Caesar become by reason of the multitude of his campaigns, and so suspicious of him were they made by their fear of a monarchy. All this fed Pompey's vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while with speeches and resolutions of the senate he was carrying the day against Caesar, as he supposed, although he was merely getting measures rejected about which Caesar cared naught. Nay, we are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the senate-house and learned that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: "But this will give it." [1]

XXX. However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking semblance of fairness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. But in the senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey,[2] introduced a motion

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[2] Pompey had married Cornelia, the young widow of Publius Crassus (*Pompey*, lv. 1).

εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην, ἂν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ μὴ κατάθηται
τὰ ὅπλα Καῖσαρ, ἀποδειχθῆναι πολέμιον
3 αὐτόν. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήϊον
ἀφεῖναι τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάλιν, εἰ
δοκεῖ Καίσαρα, τῇ μὲν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι, τῇ δὲ
πάντες παρ' ὀλίγους προσέθεντο· τῶν δὲ περὶ
Ἀντώνιον πάλιν ἀξιούντων ἀμφοτέρους τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἀφεῖναι, πάντες ὁμαλῶς προσεχώρησαν.
ἀλλὰ ἐκβιαζομένου Σκηπίωνος, καὶ Λέντλου τοῦ
ὑπάτου βοῶντος ὅπλων δεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρα λῃστήν,
οὐ ψήφων, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν καὶ μετεβάλοντο
τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπὶ πένθει διὰ τὴν στάσιν.

XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἧκον ἐπιστολαὶ 72
μετριάζειν δοκοῦντος (ἠξίου γὰρ ἀφεὶς
τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν
μετὰ δυεῖν ταγμάτων αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, μέχρι
οὗ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μέτεισι), καὶ Κικέρων ὁ
ῥήτωρ ἄρτι παρὼν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς
πράττων ἐμάλαττε τὸν Πομπήϊον, ὁ δὲ τἆλλα
συγχωρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφῄρει. καὶ Κικέρων
μὲν ἔπειθε τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους συνενδόντας
ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐπαρχίαις καὶ στρατιώταις
μόνοις ἑξακισχιλίοις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις,
2 Πομπηΐου δὲ καμπτομένου καὶ διδόντος οἱ περὶ
Λέντλον οὐκ εἴων ὑπατεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
βουλῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κουρίωνα προπηλακίσαντες
ἐξήλασαν ἀτίμως, τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην Καίσαρι
τῶν προφάσεων αὐτοὶ μηχανησάμενοι, καὶ
δι' ἧς μάλιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώξυνεν, ἐπι-

that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his arms he should be declared a public enemy. And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

XXXI. But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pompey was ready to yield and grant so many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate,[1] thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pretexts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute

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[1] January 7, 49 B.C.

δεικνύμενος ἄνδρας ἐλλογίμους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ
μισθίων ζευγῶν πεφευγότας ἐν ἐσθῆσιν οἰκετικαῖς.
οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης σκευάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ
φόβον ὑπεξῄεσαν.

XXXII. Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους
ἱππέων τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν·
τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο στράτευμα πέραν Ἄλπεων ἀπολελειμμένον
ἔμελλον ἄξειν οἱ πεμφθέντες. ὁρῶν
δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὧν ἐνίστατο πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν
ἔφοδον οὐ πολυχειρίας δεομένην ἐν τῷ παρόντι
μᾶλλον ἢ θάμβει τε τόλμης καὶ τάχει καιροῦ
2 καταληπτέαν οὖσαν, ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ ἀπιστούμενος
ῥᾷον ἢ βιάσεσθαι μετὰ παρασκευῆς ἐπελθών,
τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας καὶ ταξιάρχους ἐκέλευσε
μαχαίρας ἔχοντας ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κατασχεῖν
Ἀρίμινον τῆς Κελτικῆς μεγάλην πόλιν, ὡς
ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα φεισαμένους φόνου καὶ ταραχῆς,
Ὁρτησίῳ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν παρέδωκεν.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διῆγεν ἐν φανερῷ
μονομάχοις ἐφεστὼς γυμναζομένοις καὶ θεώμενος·
μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἑσπέρας θεραπεύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ
παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ συγγενόμενος
βραχέα τοῖς παρακεκλημένοις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον,
ἤδη συσκοτάζοντος ἐξανέστη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
φιλοφρονηθεὶς καὶ κελεύσας περιμένειν αὐτὸν ὡς
ἐπανελευσόμενον, ὀλίγοις δὲ τῶν φίλων προείρητο
μὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλῃ διώκειν.
4 αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβὰς ἑνὸς ἤλαυνεν
ἑτέραν τινὰ πρῶτον ὁδόν, εἶτα πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμινον
ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν διορίζοντα τὴν
ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας

and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now, Caesar had with him not more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionaries; for the rest of his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up by those whom he had sent for the purpose. He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius.

He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark rose and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the

ποταμόν (Ῥουβίκων καλεῖται), καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῄει μᾶλλον ἐγγίζοντα τῷ δεινῷ καὶ περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, 5 ἔσχετο δρόμου· καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βούλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλίκων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ διάβασις, ὅσον 6 τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὖθις ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ὥσπερ ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπών, "Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος," ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη χρώμενος εἰσέπεσε πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον καὶ κατέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔκθεσμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρητον μῖξιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελήφθη τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ὥσπερ ἀνεῳγμένου τοῦ πολέμου πλατείαις πύλαις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ συγκεχυμένων ἅμα τοῖς ὅροις τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῶν νόμων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἄνδρας ἄν τις ᾠήθη καὶ γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε, σὺν ἐκπλήξει διαφοιτᾶν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς πολεις αὐτὰς ἀνισταμενας 724

rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.[1] It is said, moreover, that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; he thought, namely, that he was having incestuous intercourse with his own mother.[2]

XXXIII. After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the province, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lx. 1–2.

[2] According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7), Caesar had this dream while he was quaestor in Spain (67 B.C.). The interpreters of dreams told him that his *mother* meant the Earth, the universal parent, which was to become subject to him.

2 φυγῇ διαφέρεσθαι δι' ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ῥευμάτων πιμπλαμένην φυγαῖς τῶν
πέριξ δήμων καὶ μεταστάσεσιν, οὔτε ἄρχοντι
πεῖσαι ῥᾳδίαν οὖσαν οὔτε λόγῳ καθεκτήν, ἐν
πολλῷ κλύδωνι καὶ σάλῳ μικρὸν ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὴν
ὑφ' αὑτῆς ἀνατετράφθαι. πάθη γὰρ ἀντίπαλα
3 καὶ βίαια κατεῖχε κινήματα πάντα τόπον. οὔτε
γὰρ τὸ χαῖρον ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοικότι
καὶ λυπουμένῳ κατὰ πολλὰ συμπῖπτον ἐν μεγάλῃ
πόλει καὶ θρασυνόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος δι'
ἐρίδων ἦν, αὐτόν τε Πομπήϊον ἐκπεπληγμένον
ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἐτάραττε, τοῖς μέν, ὡς ηὔξησε
Καίσαρα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εὐθύνας
ὑπέχοντα, τῶν δέ, ὅτι παρείκοντα καὶ προτεινόμενον
εὐγνώμονας διαλύσεις ἐφῆκε τοῖς περὶ
4 Λέντλον ὑβρίσαι, κατηγορούντων. Φαώνιος δὲ
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε τῷ ποδὶ κτυπεῖν τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ
μεγαληγορῶν ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον οὐδὲν εἴα
πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ φροντίζειν ἐκείνους τῆς ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς· αὐτὸς γάρ, ὅταν ἐπίῃ,
κρούσας τὸ ἔδαφος τῷ ποδὶ στρατευμάτων ἐμπλήσειν
τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερέβαλλεν
ὁ Πομπήϊος τὴν Καίσαρος· εἴασε δ' οὐδεὶς
τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ
ὑπ' ἀγγελμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ φόβων,
ὡς ἐφεστῶτος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντα κατέχοντος,
εἴξας καὶ συνεκκρουσθεὶς τῇ πάντων φορᾷ
ψηφίζεται ταραχὴν ὁρᾶν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπε
κελεύσας ἕπεσθαι τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ μηδένα
μένειν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ᾑρημένων τὴν
πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For conflicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. Those who rejoiced did not keep quiet, but in many places, as was natural in a great city, encountered those who were in fear and distress, and being filled with confidence as to the future came into strife with them; while Pompey himself, who was terror-stricken, was assailed on every side, being taken to task by some for having strengthened Caesar against himself and the supreme power of the state, and denounced by others for having permitted Lentulus to insult Caesar when he was ready to yield and was offering reasonable terms of settlement. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground; for once, in a boastful speech to the senate, he told them to take no trouble or anxious thought about preparations for the war, since when it came he had but to stamp upon the earth to fill Italy with armies.[1]

However, even then Pompey's forces were more numerous than Caesar's; but no one would suffer him to exercise his own judgement; and so, under the influence of many false and terrifying reports, believing that the war was already close at hand and prevailed everywhere, he gave way, was swept along with the universal tide, issued an edict declaring a state of anarchy, and forsook the city, commanding the senate to follow, and forbidding any one to remain who preferred country and freedom to tyranny.

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lvii. 5.

XXXIV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὕπατοι μηδὲ ἃ νόμος ἐστὶ
πρὸ ἐξόδου θύσαντες ἔφυγον· ἔφευγον δὲ καὶ τῶν
βουλευτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι, τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἁρπαγῆς
ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὅ τι τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων
λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος
ᾑρημένοι πρότερον ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θάμβους τότε
τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ συμπαρηνέχθησαν οὐδὲν δεό-
2 μενοι τῷ ῥεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης. οἰκτρότατον
δὲ τὸ θέαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιφερομένου το-
σούτου χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ νεὼς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν
ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομι-
ζομένης. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τῆς μεταστάσεως οἰ-
κτρᾶς οὔσης, τὴν μὲν φυγὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πατρίδα
διὰ Πομπήϊον ἡγοῦντο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσα-
ρος στρατόπεδον ἐξέλειπον· ὅπου καὶ Λαβιηνός,
ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις Καίσαρος καὶ
πρεσβευτὴς γεγονὼς καὶ συνηγωνισμένος ἐν πᾶσι
προθυμότατα τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πολέμοις, τότ' ἐκεῖ-
νον ἀποδρὰς ἀφίκετο πρὸς Πομπήϊον.

3 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς
ἀποσκευὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ὁ Καῖσαρ· Δομετίῳ δὲ
ἡγουμένῳ σπειρῶν τριάκοντα καὶ κατέχοντι Κορ-
φίνιον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-
γνοὺς τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ᾔτησε τὸν ἰατρὸν οἰκέτην
ὄντα φάρμακον· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν ἔπιεν ὡς
4 τεθνηξόμενος. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Καί-
σαρα θαυμαστῇ τινι φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἀπεθρήνει καὶ τὴν
ὀξύτητα τοῦ βουλεύματος ᾐτιᾶτο. τοῦ δ' ἰατροῦ
θαρρύναντος αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπνωτικόν, οὐ θανάσιμον,
πεπωκότα, περιχαρὴς ἀναστὰς ἀπῄει πρὸς Καί-

XXXIV. Accordingly, the consuls fled, without even making the sacrifices usual before departure; most of the senators also fled, after seizing, in a sort of robbery, whatever came to hand of their own possessions, as though it were the property of others. Some, too, who before this had vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar, were now frightened out of their wits, and were carried along, when there was no need of it, by the sweep of the great tide. But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their removal was so pitiful a thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar's camp.[1] For even Labienus, one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been his legate and had fought most zealously with him in all his Gallic wars, now ran away from him and came to Pompey.

But Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his baggage; against Domitius, however, who was holding Corfinium with thirty cohorts under his command, he marched, and pitched his camp near by. Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a slave, for a poison; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his physician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly; whereupon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar,

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxi. 4.

σαρα, καὶ λαβὼν δεξιὰν αὖθις διεξέπεσε πρὸς Πομπήϊον. ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡδίους ἐποίει, καί τινες φυγόντες ἀνέστρεψαν.

XXXV. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τήν τε τοῦ Δομετίου
στρατιὰν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσους ἐν
ταῖς πόλεσι Πομπηΐῳ στρατολογουμένους ἔφθασε
καταλαβών. πολὺς δὲ γεγονὼς ἤδη καὶ φοβερὸς
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε Πομπήϊον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο
τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' εἰς Βρεντέσιον φυγὼν τοὺς μὲν
ὑπάτους πρότερον ἔστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς
Δυρράχιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος 725
Καίσαρος ἐξέπλευσεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου
γραφησομένοις τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον δηλωθήσεται.
2 Καίσαρι δὲ βουλομένῳ μὲν εὐθὺς διώκειν ἀπορία
νεῶν ἦν· εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψε, γεγονὼς
ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξήκοντα πάσης ἀναιμωτὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας
κύριος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὗρε μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκα
καθεστῶσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ
συχνούς, τούτοις μὲν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δημοτικὰ διελέχθη,
παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Πομπήϊον
ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμβάσεσι πρεπούσαις·
ὑπήκουσε δ' οὐδείς, εἴτε φοβούμενοι Πομπήϊον
ἐγκαταλελειμμένον, εἴτε μὴ νομίζοντες οὕτω Καίσαρα
φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγων χρῆσθαι.
3 τοῦ δὲ δημάρχου Μετέλλου κωλύοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ
τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ νόμους
τινὰς προφέροντος, οὐκ ἔφη τὸν αὐτὸν ὅπλων καὶ
νόμων καιρὸν εἶναι· "Σὺ δὲ εἰ τοῖς πραττομένοις
δυσκολαίνεις, νῦν μὲν ἐκποδὼν ἄπιθι· παρρησίας

the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. When tidings of these things came to Rome, men were made more cheerful, and some of the fugitives turned back.

XXXV. Caesar took over the troops of Domitius, as well as all the other levies of Pompey which he surprised in the various cities. Then, since his forces were already numerous and formidable, he marched against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls before him with an army to Dyrrhachium, and shortly afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself, as shall be set forth circumstantially in his Life.[1] Caesar wished to pursue him at once, but was destitute of ships; so he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days and without bloodshed become master of all Italy.

He found the city more tranquil than he was expecting, and many senators in it. With these, therefore, he conferred in a gentle and affable manner,[2] inviting them even to send a deputation to Pompey proposing suitable terms of agreement. But no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or because they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said, but was indulging in specious talk. When the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar's taking money from the reserve funds of the state, and cited certain laws, Caesar said that arms and laws had not the same season. "But if thou art displeased at what is going on, for the present get out

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[1] Chapter lxii.

[2] Caesar gives a summary of his speech to the senators in *B.C.* i. 32.

γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος· ὅταν δὲ κατάθωμαι τὰ ὅπλα συμβάσεων γενομένων, τότε παριὼν δημαγωγήσεις. καὶ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "λέγω τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δικαίων ὑφιέμενος· ἐμὸς γὰρ εἶ καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες ὅσους εἴληφα τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ στασιασάντων."
4 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον εἰπὼν ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ ταμιείου, μὴ φαινομένων δὲ τῶν κλειδῶν χαλκεῖς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκκόπτειν ἐκέλευεν· αὖθις δὲ ἐνισταμένου τοῦ Μετέλλου καί τινων ἐπαινούντων, διατεινάμενος ἠπείλησεν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο παρενοχλῶν. "Καὶ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι μοι δυσκολώτερον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι." οὗτος ὁ λόγος τότε καὶ Μέτελλον ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησε καταδείσαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ῥᾳδίως αὐτῷ καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

XXXVI. Ἐστράτευε δ' εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πρότερον ἐγνωκὼς τοὺς περὶ Ἀφράνιον καὶ Βάρρωνα Πομπηΐου πρεσβευτὰς ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Πομπήϊον ἐλαύνειν, μηδένα κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολειπόμενος. κινδυνεύσας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι πολλάκις κατ' ἐνέδρας καὶ τῷ στρατῷ μάλιστα διὰ λιμόν, οὐκ ἀνῆκε πρότερον διώκων καὶ προκαλούμενος καὶ περιταφρεύων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ κύριος βίᾳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ᾤχοντο πρὸς Πομπήϊον φεύγοντες.

XXXVII. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρα Πείσων μὲν ὁ πενθερὸς παρεκάλει πρὸς Πομπήϊον ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως,

of the way, since war has no use for free speech; when, however, I have come to terms and laid down my arms, then thou shalt come before the people with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive my own just rights; for thou art mine, thou and all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught." After this speech to Metellus, Caesar walked towards the door of the treasury, and when the keys were not to be found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break in the door. Metellus once more opposed him, and was commended by some for so doing; but Caesar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him if he did not cease his troublesome interference. "And thou surely knowest, young man," said he, "that it is more unpleasant for me to say this than to do it." Then Metellus, in consequence of this speech, went off in a fright, and henceforth everything was speedily and easily furnished to Caesar for the war.[1]

XXXVI. So he made an expedition into Spain,[2] having resolved first to drive out from there Afranius and Varro, Pompey's legates, and bring their forces there and the provinces into his power, and then to march against Pompey, leaving not an enemy in his rear. And though his life was often in peril from ambuscades, and his army most of all from hunger, he did not cease from pursuing, challenging, and besieging the men until he had made himself by main force master of their camps and their forces. The leaders, however, made their escape to Pompey.

XXXVII. When Caesar came back to Rome, Piso, his father-in-law, urged him to send a deputation to Pompey with proposals for a settlement; but

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxii. 1.

[2] Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* i. 34–86.

Ἰσαυρικὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἀντεῖπεν. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φυγάδας τε κατήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτίμους ἐποίησε, καὶ σεισαχθείᾳ τινὶ τόκων ἐκούφιζε τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας, ἄλλων τε τοιούτων ἥψατο πολιτευμάτων οὐ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἕνδεκα τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν ἀπειπάμενος, ὕπατον δὲ ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Σερουΐλιον Ἰσαυρικόν, εἴχετο τῆς στρατείας.

2 Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δυνάμεις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπειγόμενος
παρῆλθεν, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἔχων λογάδας ἑξακοσίους
καὶ πέντε τάγματα, χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς
ὄντος, ἱσταμένου Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς (οὗτος δ' ἂν
εἴη Ποσειδεὼν Ἀθηναίοις) ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος·
καὶ διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον Ὤρικον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν
αἱρεῖ, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα πάλιν ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς
Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας τῇ πορείᾳ
3 στρατιώτας. οἱ δὲ ἄχρι μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν ἦσαν, ἅτε
δὴ καὶ παρηκμακότες ἤδη τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς
τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολέμων ἀπειρηκότες, ἐν αἰτίαις
εἶχον τὸν Καίσαρα· "Ποῖ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τί πέρας
ἡμᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καταθήσεται περιφέρων καὶ
χρώμενος ὥσπερ ἀτρύτοις καὶ ἀψύχοις ἡμῖν; καὶ
σίδηρος ἐξέκαμε πληγαῖς, καὶ θυρεοῦ τίς ἐστι 72
4 φειδὼ ἐν χρόνῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ θώρακος. οὐδὲ ἀπὸ
τῶν τραυμάτων ἄρα λογίζεται Καῖσαρ ὅτι θνητῶν
μὲν ἄρχει, θνητὰ δὲ πεφύκαμεν πάσχειν καὶ ἀλγεῖν;
ὥραν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ πνεύματος ἐν θαλάττῃ
καιρὸν οὐδὲ θεῷ βιάζεσθαι δυνατόν· ἀλλ'
οὗτος παραβάλλεται καθάπερ οὐ διώκων πολεμίους,
ἀλλὰ φεύγων." τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπορεύ-

Isauricus, to please Caesar, opposed the project. So, having been made dictator by the senate, he brought home exiles, restored to civic rights the children of those who had suffered in the time of Sulla, relieved the burdens of the debtor-class by a certain adjustment of interest, took in hand a few other public measures of like character, and within eleven days abdicated the sole power, had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and entered upon his campaign.

The rest of his forces he passed by in a forced march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, at the time of the winter solstice, in the early part of January[1] (this month answers nearly to the Athenian Poseideon), put to sea, and after crossing the Ionian gulf took Oricum and Apollonia, and sent his transports back again to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been belated on their march. These, as long as they were on the road, since they were now past their physical prime and worn out with their multitudinous wars, murmured against Caesar. "Whither, pray, and to what end will this man bring us, hurrying us about and treating us like tireless and lifeless things? Even a sword gets tired out with smiting, and shield and breastplate are spared a little after so long a time of service. Will not even our wounds, then, convince Caesar that he commands mortal men, and that we are mortal in the endurance of pain and suffering? Surely the wintry season and the occasion of a storm at sea not even a god can constrain; yet this man takes risks as though he were not pursuing, but flying from, enemies." With such words as these they

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[1] 48 B.C. The Roman calendar, at this time, was much in advance of the solar seasons.

5 οντο σχολαίως εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον. ὡς δὲ ἐλθόντες εὗρον ἀνηγμένον τὸν Καίσαρα, ταχὺ πάλιν αὖ μεταβαλόντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτοὺς προδότας ἀποκαλοῦντες τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκάκιζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὐκ ἐπιταχύναντας τὴν πορείαν. καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον ἀπεσκόπουν τὰς ναῦς ἐφ' ὧν ἔμελλον περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

XXXVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔχων ἀξιόμαχον τὴν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βραδυνούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν, ἀπορούμενος καὶ περιπαθῶν, δεινὸν ἐβούλευσε βούλευμα, κρύφα πάντων εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβὰς τὸ μέγεθος δωδεκάσκαλμον ἀναχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, τηλικούτοις στόλοις περιεχομένου τοῦ πελάγους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

2 νυκτὸς οὖν ἐσθῆτι θεράποντος ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐνέβη, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥς τινα τῶν παρημελημένων ἡσύχαζε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀώου ποταμοῦ τὴν ναῦν ὑποφέροντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν μὲν ἑωθινὴν αὔραν, ἣ παρεῖχε τηνικαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς γαλήνην ἀπωθοῦσα πόρρω τὸ κῦμα, πολὺς πνεύσας πελάγιος διὰ νυκτὸς ἀπέσβεσε·

3 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πλημμύραν τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὴν ἀντίβασιν τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀγριαίνων ὁ ποταμός, καὶ τραχὺς ἅμα καὶ κτύπῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ σκληραῖς ἀνακοπτόμενος δίναις, ἄπορος ἦν βιασθῆναι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ναύτας ὡς ἀποστρέψων τὸν πλοῦν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναδείκνυσιν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκπεπληγμένου πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, "Ἴθι," ἔφη, "γενναῖε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι

marched in a leisurely way to Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had put to sea, they quickly changed their tone and reviled themselves as traitors to the Imperator; they reviled their officers, too, for not having quickened their march. Then, sitting on the cliffs, they looked off towards the open sea and Epirus, watching for the ships which were to carry them across to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, since the force which he had with him was not a match for the enemy and the delay of his troops on the other side caused him perplexity and distress, Caesar conceived the dangerous plan of embarking in a twelve-oared boat, without any one's knowledge, and going over to Brundisium, though the sea was encompassed by such large armaments of the enemy. At night, accordingly, after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, he went on board, threw himself down as one of no account, and kept quiet. While the river Aoüs was carrying the boat down towards the sea, the early morning breeze, which at that time usually made the mouth of the river calm by driving back the waves, was quelled by a strong wind which blew from the sea during the night; the river therefore chafed against the inflow of the sea and the opposition of its billows, and was rough, being beaten back with a great din and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to force his way along. He therefore ordered the sailors to come about in order to retrace his course. But Caesar, perceiving this, disclosed himself, took the master of the boat by the hand, who was terrified at sight of him, and said: "Come, good man, be bold

μηδέν· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην 4 συμπλέουσαν." ἐλάθοντο τοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ ναῦται, καὶ ταῖς κώπαις ἐμφύντες ἐβιάζοντο πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἄπορα, δεξάμενος πολλὴν θάλατταν καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἐν τῷ στόματι συνεχώρησε μάλα ἄκων τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μεταβαλεῖν. ἀνιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ πλῆθος ἀπήντων οἱ στρατιῶται, πολλὰ μεμφόμενοι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντες εἰ μὴ πέπεισται καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς μόνοις ἱκανὸς εἶναι νικᾶν, ἀλλ' ἄχθεται καὶ παραβάλλεται διὰ τοὺς ἀπόντας ὡς ἀπιστῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XXXIX. Ἐκ τούτου κατέπλευσε μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων· θαρρήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ προὐκαλεῖτο Πομπήϊον ἱδρυμένον ἐν καλῷ καὶ χορηγούμενον ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀποχρώντως, αὐτὸς ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις διάγων κατ' ἀρχάς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σφόδρα πιεσθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἀλλὰ ῥίζαν τινὰ κόπτοντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ γάλακτι φυρῶντες 2 προσεφέροντο. καί ποτε καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδραμόντες ἔβαλλον εἴσω καὶ διερρίπτουν, ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς, ἄχρι ἂν ἡ γῆ τοιαύτας ἐκφέρῃ ῥίζας, οὐ παύσονται πολιορκοῦντες Πομπήϊον. ὁ μέντοι Πομπήϊος οὔτε τοὺς ἄρτους οὔτε τοὺς λόγους εἴα τούτους ἐκφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. ἠθύμουν γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῶν πολεμίων ὥσπερ θηρίων ὀρρωδοῦντες.

3 Ἀεὶ δέ τινες περὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῖς Πομπηΐου μάχαι σποράδες ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ περιῆν πάσαις ὁ

and fear naught; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat." [1] The sailors forgot the storm, and laying to their oars, tried with all alacrity to force their way down the river. But since it was impossible, after taking much water and running great hazard at the mouth of the river, Caesar very reluctantly suffered the captain to put about. When he came back, his soldiers met him in throngs, finding much fault and sore displeased with him because he did not believe that even with them alone he was able to conquer, but was troubled, and risked his life for the sake of the absent as though distrusting those who were present.

XXXIX. After this, Antony put in from Brundisium with his forces, and Caesar was emboldened to challenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was well posted and drew ample supplies both from land and sea; while Caesar had no great abundance at first, and afterwards was actually hard pressed for want of provisions. But his soldiers dug up a certain root, mixed it with milk, and ate it.[2] Once, too, they made loaves of it, and running up to the enemy's outposts, threw the loaves inside or tossed them to one another, adding by way of comment that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would not stop besieging Pompey. Pompey, however, would not allow either the loaves or these words to reach the main body of his army. For his soldiers were dejected, fearing the ferocity and hardiness of their enemies, who were like wild beasts in their eyes.

There were constant skirmishings about the fortifications of Pompey, and in all of them Caesar got

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[1] Cf. Dion Cassius, xli. 46, 3.

[2] Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 48.

Καῖσαρ πλὴν μιᾶς, ἐν ᾗ τροπῆς μεγάλης γενομένης
ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀπολέσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον.
Πομπηΐου γὰρ προσβάλλοντος οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν, 72
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφροι κατεπίμπλαντο κτεινομένων,
καὶ περὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν χαρακώμασι καὶ περιτειχίσμασιν
4 ἔπιπτον ἐλαυνόμενοι προτροπάδην. Καῖσαρ
δὲ ὑπαντιάζων ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν ἀναστρέφειν
τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπέραινε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπιλαμβανομένου
τῶν σημείων ἀπερρίπτουν οἱ κομίζοντες,
ὥστε δύο καὶ τριάκοντα λαβεῖν τοὺς
πολεμίους. αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἀποθανεῖν.
ἀνδρὶ γὰρ μεγάλῳ καὶ ῥωμαλέῳ φεύγοντι παρ᾿
αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα μένειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ
στρέφεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· ὁ δὲ μεστὸς ὢν
ταραχῆς παρὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπήρατο τὴν μάχαιραν
ὡς καθιξόμενος, φθάνει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπασπιστὴς
5 ἀποκόψας αὐτοῦ τὸν ὦμον. οὕτω δὲ
ἀπέγνω τὰ καθ᾿ αὑτὸν ὥστε, ἐπεὶ Πομπήϊος ὑπ᾿
εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλος οὐκ
ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καθείρξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς
φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς
φίλους ἀπιὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, "Σήμερον ἂν ἡ νίκη
παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν, εἰ τὸν νικῶντα εἶχον."
6 αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κατακλιθεὶς
νύκτα πασῶν ἐκείνην ἀνιαροτάτην διήγαγεν
ἐν ἀπόροις λογισμοῖς, ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκώς,
ὅτι καὶ χώρας ἐπικειμένης βαθείας καὶ πόλεων
εὐδαιμόνων τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ Θετταλικῶν,
ἐάσας ἐκεῖ περισπάσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐνταῦθα
καθέζοιτο πρὸς θαλάττῃ, ναυκρατούντων τῶν
πολεμίων, πολιορκούμενος τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις μᾶλ-

the better except one, where there was a great rout of his men and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompey attacked not one of Caesar's men stood his ground, but the moats were filled with the slain, and others were falling at their own ramparts and walls, whither they had been driven in headlong flight. And though Caesar met the fugitives and tried to turn them back, he availed nothing, nay, when he tried to lay hold of the standards the bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed. For as a tall and sturdy man was running away past him, he laid his hand upon him and bade him stay and face about upon the enemy; and the fellow, full of panic at the threatening danger, raised his sword to smite Caesar, but before he could do so Caesar's shield-bearer lopped off his arm at the shoulder. So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: "To-day victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command."[1] Then going by himself to his tent and lying down, he spent that most distressful of all nights in vain reflections, convinced that he had shown bad generalship. For while a fertile country lay waiting for him, and the prosperous cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had posted himself here by the sea, which his enemies controlled with their fleets, being thus held in siege by lack of

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxv. 5.

7 λον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις πολιορκῶν. οὕτω δὴ ῥιπτασθεὶς καὶ ἀδημονήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα τῶν παρόντων ἀνίστη τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα προάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐγνωκώς· ἢ γὰρ ἐπισπάσεσθαι Πομπήϊον ὅπου μαχεῖται μὴ χορηγούμενος ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἢ περιέσεσθαι μεμονωμένου Σκηπίωνος.

XL. Τοῦτο τὴν Πομπηΐου στρατιὰν ἐπῆρε καὶ
τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ὡς ἡττημένου καὶ φεύγοντος
ἔχεσθαι Καίσαρος. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εὐλαβῶς
εἶχε Πομπήϊος ἀναρρῖψαι μάχην περὶ
τηλικούτων, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἄριστα πᾶσι
πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἠξίου τρίβειν καὶ μαραίνειν τὴν
τῶν πολεμίων ἀκμὴν βραχεῖαν οὖσαν. τὸ γάρ
τοι μαχιμώτατον τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως ἐμπειρίαν
μὲν εἶχε καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατον πρὸς τοὺς
2 ἀγῶνας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλάναις καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις
καὶ τειχομαχοῦντες καὶ νυκτεγερτοῦντες
ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ γήρως, καὶ βαρεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς
σώμασι πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐγκαταλείποντες
τὴν προθυμίαν. τότε δὲ καί τι νόσημα
λοιμῶδες ἐλέχθη, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς διαίτης ποιησάμενον
ἀρχήν, ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ περιφέρεσθαι τῇ
Καίσαρος. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὔτε χρήμασιν ἐρρωμένος
οὔτε τροφῆς εὐπορῶν χρόνου βραχέος
ἐδόκει περὶ αὐτῷ καταλυθήσεσθαι.

XLI. Διὰ ταῦτα Πομπήϊον μάχεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενον μόνος ἐπῄνει Κάτων φειδοῖ τῶν πολιτῶν·

provisions rather than besieging with his arms. Thus his despondent thoughts of the difficulty and perplexity of his situation kept him tossing upon his couch, and in the morning he broke camp, resolved to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio; for he would then either draw Pompey after him to a place where he would give battle without drawing his supplies as he now did from the sea, or Scipio would be left alone and he would overwhelm him.

XL. This emboldened the soldiers of Pompey and the leaders by whom he was surrounded to keep close to Caesar, whom they thought defeated and in flight. For Pompey himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and since he was most excellently provided with everything necessary for a long war, he thought it best to wear out and quench the vigour of the enemy, which must be short-lived. For the best fighting men in Caesar's army had experience, it is true, and a daring which was irresistible in combat; but what with their long marches and frequent encampments and siege-warfare and night-watches, they were beginning to give out by reason of age, and were too unwieldy for labour, having lost their ardour from weakness. At that time, too, a kind of pestilential disease, occasioned by the strangeness of their diet, was said to be prevalent in Caesar's army. And what was most important of all, since Caesar was neither strong in funds nor well supplied with provisions, it was thought that within a short time his army would break up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompey did not wish to fight, but Cato was the only one to commend his course, and this from a desire to spare the lives

ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων
εἰς χιλίους τὸ πλῆθος γενομένους ἰδὼν
ἀπῆλθεν ἐγκαλυψάμενος καὶ καταδακρύσας. οἱ
δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκάκιζον τὸν Πομπήϊον φυγομαχοῦντα,
καὶ παρώξυνον Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ βασιλέα
βασιλέων ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὡς δὴ μὴ βουλόμενον
ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαλλόμενον
ἡγεμόνων τοσούτων ἐξηρτημένων αὐτοῦ καὶ φοιτώντων
2 ἐπὶ σκηνήν. Φαώνιος δὲ τὴν Κάτωνος
παρρησίαν ὑποποιούμενος, μανικῶς ἐσχετλίαζεν
εἰ μηδὲ τῆτες ἔσται τῶν περὶ Τουσκλάνον ἀπολαῦσαι
σύκων διὰ τὴν Πομπηΐου φιλαρχίαν.
Ἀφράνιος δὲ (νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀφῖκτο
κακῶς στρατηγήσας) διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι
προδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, ἠρώτα διὰ τί πρὸς 72
τὸν ἔμπορον οὐ μάχονται τὸν ἐωνημένον παρ'
αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαρχίας. ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων συνελαυνόμενος
ἄκων εἰς μάχην ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐχώρει
τὸν Καίσαρα διώκων.

3 Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν χαλεπῶς ἤνυσεν,
οὐδενὸς παρέχοντος ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονούντων
διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος ἧτταν· ὡς δὲ εἷλε
Γόμφους, Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἔθρεψε
τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπήλλαξε
παραλόγως. ἀφθόνῳ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον οἴνῳ, καὶ
πιόντες ἀνέδην, εἶτα χρώμενοι κώμοις καὶ βακχεύοντες
ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐκ μέθης διεκρούσαντο καὶ
παρήλλαξαν τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἕξιν ἑτέραν τοῖς σώμασι
μεταπεσόντες.

XLII. Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν Φαρσαλίαν ἐμβαλόντες
ἀμφότεροι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήϊος

of his fellow citizens; for when he saw even those of the enemy who had fallen in the battle, to the number of a thousand, he burst into tears, muffled up his head, and went away. All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plumed himself on having so many commanders dependent upon him and coming constantly to his tent. And Favonius, affecting Cato's boldness of speech, complained like a mad man because that year also they would be unable to enjoy the figs of Tusculum because of Pompey's love of command.[1] Afranius, too, who had lately come from Spain, where he had shown bad generalship, when accused of betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces from him.[1] Driven on by all these importunities, Pompey reluctantly sought a battle and pursued Caesar.

Caesar accomplished most of his march with difficulty, since no one would sell him provisions, and everybody despised him on account of his recent defeat; but after he had taken Gomphi, a city of Thessaly, he not only provided food for his soldiers, but also relieved them of their disease unexpectedly. For they fell in with plenty of wine, and after drinking freely of it, and then revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness they drove away and got rid of their trouble, since they brought their bodies into a different habit.

XLII. But when both armies entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey's mind

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxvii. 3.

αὖθις εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνεκρούετο λογισμὸν τὴν
γνώμην, ἔτι καὶ φασμάτων οὐκ αἰσίων προσγενομένων
καὶ καθ' ὕπνον ὄψεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν
ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κροτούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων,
. . .[1] οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω θρασεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τὸ
νίκημα ταῖς ἐλπίσι προειληφότες ὥστε φιλονεικεῖν
ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον
καὶ Σπινθῆρα καὶ Σκηπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις,
2 πέμπειν δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην μισθουμένους
καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας οἰκίας ὑπατεύουσι
καὶ στρατηγοῦσιν ἐπιτηδείους, ὡς εὐθὺς
ἄρξοντες μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐσφάδαζον
οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἠσκημένοι περιττῶς
ὅπλων λαμπρότησι καὶ τροφαῖς ἵππων καὶ κάλλει
σωμάτων, μέγα φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος,
ἑπτακισχίλιοι πρὸς χιλίους τοὺς Καίσαρος ὄντες.
ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγχώμαλον,
ἀλλὰ τετρακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι παρετάττοντο
δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις.

XLIII. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγών,
καὶ προειπὼν ὡς δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τάγματα
Κορφίνιος ἄγων ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ἄλλαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα
σπεῖραι μετὰ Καληνοῦ κάθηνται περὶ
Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἠρώτησεν εἴτε βούλονται
περιμένειν ἐκείνους, εἴτε αὐτοὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι
καθ' ἑαυτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν δεόμενοι μὴ περιμένειν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τάχιστα συνίασιν εἰς
χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τεχνάζεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν.
2 ποιουμένῳ δὲ καθαρμὸν αὐτῷ τῆς δυνά-

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[1] The substance of what has fallen from the text here may be found in the *Pompey*, lxviii. 2. Sintenis brackets the sentence as an intrusion here from marginal notes.

reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans, . . . Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hopefully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take possession of houses suitable for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war.[1] And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the infantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Caesar called his soldiers together, and after telling them that Corfinius[2] was near with two legions for him, and that fifteen cohorts besides under Calenus were stationed at Athens and Megara, asked them whether they wished to wait for these troops, or to hazard the issue by themselves. Then the soldiers besought him with loud cries not to wait for the troops, but rather to contrive and manoeuvre to come to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible. As he was holding a lustration

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[1] Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 82 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, lxvii. 5.

[2] An error for Cornificius.

μεως καὶ θύσαντι τὸ πρῶτον ἱερεῖον εὐθὺς ὁ μάντις
ἔφραζε τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάχῃ κριθήσεσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰ
καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἐνορᾷ τι τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὔσημον,
“Αὐτὸς ἄν,” ἔφη, “σὺ τοῦτο βέλτιον ὑποκρίναιο
σαυτῷ. μεγάλην γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ μετά-
πτωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν καθεστώτων δηλοῦσιν,
ὥστε εἰ μὲν εὖ πράττειν ἡγῇ σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ
παρόντι, τὴν χείρονα προσδόκα τύχην· εἰ δὲ κα-
3 κῶς, τὴν ἀμείνονα.” τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης νυκτὶ
τὰς φυλακὰς ἐφοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ μεσο-
νύκτιον ὤφθη λαμπὰς οὐρανίου πυρός, ἣν ὑπερ-
ενεχθεῖσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον λαμπρὰν
καὶ φλογώδη γενομένην ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπηΐου
καταπεσεῖν. ἑωθινῆς δὲ φυλακῆς καὶ πανικὸν
τάραχον ᾔσθοντο γιγνόμενον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις.
οὐ μὴν μαχεῖσθαί γε κατ' ἐκείνην προσεδόκα τὴν
ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ Σκοτούσσης ὁδεύων ἀνε-
ζεύγνυεν.

XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν ἤδη καταλελυ-
μένων οἱ σκοποὶ προσίππευσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς πο-
λεμίους ἐπὶ μάχῃ καταβαίνειν ἀπαγγέλλοντες,
περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς
παρέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα, τὴν τάξιν τριπλῆν
ποιῶν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μέσοις ἐπέστησε Καλβῖνον
Δομίτιον, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀντώνιος,
αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι μέλλων
2 μάχεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων
ἱππεῖς ἀντιπαραταττομένους ὁρῶν, καὶ δεδοικὼς
τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐσχάτης τάξεως ἀδήλως ἐκέλευσε περιελθεῖν πρὸς
ἑαυτὸν ἓξ σπείρας καὶ κατόπιν ἔστησε τοῦ δεξιοῦ, 729

and review of his forces and had sacrificed the first victim, the seer at once told him that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. And when Caesar asked him whether he also saw in the victims any favourable signs of the issue, "Thou thyself," said the seer, "canst better answer this question for thyself. For the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the present status to the opposite. Therefore, if thou thinkest thyself well off as matters stand, expect the worse fortune; if badly off, the better." Moreover, on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the round of his sentries about midnight, a fiery torch was seen in the heavens, which seemed to be carried over his camp, blazing out brightly, and then to fall into Pompey's. And during the morning watch it was noticed that there was actually a panic confusion among the enemy.[1] However, Caesar did not expect to fight on that day,[2] but began to break camp for a march to Scotussa.

XLIV. But just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up to him with tidings that the enemy were coming down into the plain for battle. At this he was overjoyed, and after prayers and vows to the gods, drew up his legionaries in three divisions. Over the centre he put Domitius Calvinus, while of the wings Antony had one and he himself the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. But seeing that the enemy's cavalry were arraying themselves over against this point, and fearing their brilliant appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts from the furthermost lines to come round to him unobserved, and stationed them behind his right

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxviii. 3.

[2] August 9, 48 B.C

διδάξας ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅταν οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς
προσφέρωνται. Πομπήϊος δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς
εἶχε τῶν κεράτων, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Δομίτιος, τοῦ
3 δὲ μέσου Σκηπίων ἦρχεν ὁ πενθερός. οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς
ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἔβρισαν ὡς τὸ δεξιὸν
κυκλωσόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ λαμπρὰν περὶ
αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα ποιησόμενοι τροπήν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἀνθέξειν βάθος ὁπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ συντρίψεσθαι
καὶ καταρράξεσθαι πάντα τοῖς ἐναντίοις
ἐπιβολῆς ἅμα τοσούτων ἱππέων γενομένης.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ σημαίνειν ἔμελλον ἀμφότεροι τὴν ἔφοδον,
Πομπήϊος μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἑστῶτας
ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέχεσθαι τὴν
ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων, μέχρι ἂν ὑσσοῦ βολῆς
ἐντὸς γένωνται. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτεῖν
φησιν αὐτόν, ἀγνοήσαντα τὴν μετὰ δρόμου
καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύρραξιν, ὡς ἔν τε
ταῖς πληγαῖς βίαν προστίθησι καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν
5 θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναρριπιζόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ
κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα μέλλων καὶ προϊὼν ἐπ' ἔργον
ἤδη πρῶτον ὁρᾷ τῶν ταξιάρχων ἄνδρα πιστὸν
αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμων ἔμπειρον, ἐπιθαρσύνοντα τοὺς
ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλούμενον εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἀλκῆς.
τοῦτον ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύσας, "Τί ἐλπίζομεν,"
εἶπεν, "ὦ Γάϊε Κρασσίνιε, καὶ πῶς τι θάρσους
6 ἔχομεν;" ὁ δὲ Κρασσίνιος ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν
καὶ μέγα βοήσας, "Νικήσομεν," ἔφη, "λαμπρῶς,
ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ δὲ ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ τεθνηκότα
ἐπαινέσεις." ταῦτα εἰπὼν πρῶτος ἐμβάλλει τοῖς

wing, teaching them what they were to do when the enemy's horsemen attacked. Pompey had one of his wings himself, and Domitius the left, while Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, commanded the centre. But his horsemen all crowded to the left wing, intending to encircle the enemy's right and make a complete rout about the commander himself; for they thought that no legionary array, however deep, could resist them, but that when so many horsemen made an onset together the enemy would be utterly broken and crushed.[1]

When both sides were about to sound the charge, Pompey ordered his legionaries to stand with arms at the ready and await in close array the onset of the enemy until they were within javelin cast. But Caesar says[2] that here too Pompey made a mistake, not knowing that the initial clash with all the impetus of running adds force to the blows and fires the courage, which everything then conspires to fan. As Caesar himself was about to move his lines of legionaries, and was already going forward into action, he saw first one of his centurions, a man experienced in war and faithful to him, encouraging his men and challenging them to vie with him in prowess. Him Caesar addressed by name and said: "Caius Crassinius,[3] what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?" Then Crassinius, stretching forth his right hand, said with a loud voice: "We shall win a glorious victory, O Caesar, and thou shalt praise me to-day, whether I am alive or dead." So saying, he plunged foremost into the enemy at full

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxix. 1-3.

[2] *B.C.* iii. 92.

[3] In Caesar's version of this episode (*B.C.* iii. 91 and 99), the name is Crastinus.

πολεμίοις δρόμῳ, συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στρατιώτας. διακόψας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πρόσω χωρῶν φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ βιαζόμενος ἀνακόπτεται ξίφει πληγεὶς διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἰνίον ἀνασχεῖν.

XLV. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸ μέσον
συρραγέντων καὶ μαχομένων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος οἱ
Πομπηΐου ἱππεῖς σοβαρῶς ἐπήλαυνον εἰς κύκλωσιν
τοῦ δεξιοῦ τὰς ἴλας ἀναχεόμενοι· καὶ πρὶν
ἢ προσβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκτρέχουσιν αἱ σπεῖραι
παρὰ Καίσαρος, οὐχ, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀκοντίσμασι
2 χρώμενοι τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, οὐδὲ μηροὺς παίοντες
ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ κνήμας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ὄψεων ἐφιέμενοι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα συντιτρώσκοντες,
ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δεδιδαγμένοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν,
ἐλπίζοντος ἄνδρας οὐ πολλὰ πολέμοις οὐδὲ
τραύμασιν ὡμιληκότας, νέους δὲ καὶ κομῶντας
ἐπὶ κάλλει καὶ ὥρᾳ, μάλιστα τὰς τοιαύτας
πληγὰς ὑπόψεσθαι καὶ μὴ μενεῖν, τὸν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι κίνδυνον ἅμα καὶ τὴν αὖθις αἰσχύνην
3 δεδοικότας. ὃ δὴ καὶ συνέβαινεν· οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο
τῶν ὑσσῶν ἀναφερομένων, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμων
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν σίδηρον ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἀπεστρέφοντο
καὶ συνεκαλύπτοντο φειδόμενοι τῶν προσώπων·
καὶ τέλος οὕτως ταράξαντες ἑαυτοὺς
ἐτράποντο φεύγειν αἴσχιστα, λυμηνάμενοι τὸ
σύμπαν. εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μὲν νενικηκότες τούτους
ἐκυκλοῦντο τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτοντες
ἔκοπτον.

4 Πομπήϊος δὲ ὡς κατεῖδεν ἀπὸ θατερου τοὺς

speed, carrying along with him the one hundred and twenty soldiers under his command. But after cutting his way through the first rank, and while he was forging onwards with great slaughter, he was beaten back by the thrust of a sword through his mouth, and the point of the sword actually came out at the back of his neck.[1]

XLV. When the infantry had thus clashed together in the centre and were fighting, Pompey's cavalry rode proudly up from the wing and deployed their squadrons to envelope the enemy's right; and before they could attack, the cohorts ran out from where Caesar was posted, not hurling their javelins, as usual, nor yet stabbing the thighs and legs of their enemies with them, but aiming them at their eyes and wounding their faces. They had been instructed to do this by Caesar, who expected that men little conversant with wars or wounds, but young, and pluming themselves on their youthful beauty, would dread such wounds especially, and would not stand their ground, fearing not only their present danger, but also their future disfigurement. And this was what actually came to pass; for they could not endure the upward thrust of the javelins, nor did they even venture to look the weapon in the face, but turned their heads away and covered them up to spare their faces. And finally, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned and fled most shamefully, thereby ruining everything. For the conquerors of the horsemen at once encircled the infantry, fell upon their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, on the other wing, saw his horse-

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxi. 1–3.

ἱππεῖς φυγῇ σκεδασθέντας, οὐκέτι ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς
οὐδ' ἐμέμνητο Πομπήϊος ὢν Μάγνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
θεοῦ μάλιστα βλαπτομένῳ τὴν γνώμην ἐοικὼς
ἄφθογγος ᾤχετο ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, καὶ καθεζόμενος
ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον, ἄχρι οὗ τροπῆς
ἁπάντων γενομένης ἐπέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι τοῦ
χάρακος καὶ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς φυλάττοντας.
5 τότε δὲ ὥσπερ ἔννους γενόμενος, καὶ ταύτην
μόνην, ὥς φασι, φωνὴν ἀφείς, "Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ
τὴν παρεμβολήν;" ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγώνιον
καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν
μεταλαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἵαις 73
ὕστερον χρησάμενος τύχαις ὅπως τε παραδοὺς
ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνδράσιν ἀνῃρέθη, δηλοῦμεν
ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γράμμασιν.

XLVI. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ
Πομπηΐου γενόμενος τούς τε κειμένους νεκροὺς
ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κτεινομένους,
εἶπεν ἄρα στενάξας· "Τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς
τοῦτό με ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γάϊος Καῖσαρ
ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην
2 τὰ στρατεύματα, κἂν κατεδικάσθην." ταῦτά
φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος τὰ ῥήματα· Ῥωμαϊστὶ
μὲν ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Καίσαρα παρὰ τὸν τότε
καιρόν, Ἑλληνιστὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι· τῶν
δὲ ἀποθανόντων τοὺς πλείστους οἰκέτας γενέσθαι
περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ χάρακος ἀναιρεθέντας,
στρατιώτας δὲ μὴ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων πεσεῖν.
τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἁλόντων κατέμιξε τοὺς πλείστους
ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὰ τάγματα· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν ἄδειαν ἔδωκεν, ὧν καὶ Βροῦτος ἦν ὁ
κτείνας αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐφ' ᾧ λέγεται μὴ φαινο-

men scattered in flight, he was no longer the same man, nor remembered that he was Pompey the Great, but more like one whom Heaven has robbed of his wits than anything else, he went off without a word to his tent, sat down there, and awaited what was to come, until his forces were all routed and the enemy were assailing his ramparts and fighting with their defenders. Then he came to his senses, as it were, and with this one ejaculation, as they say, "What, even to my quarters?" took off his fighting and general's dress, put on one suitable for a fugitive, and stole away. What his subsequent fortunes were, and how he delivered himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in his Life.[1]

XLVI. But Caesar, when he reached Pompey's ramparts and saw those of the enemy who were already lying dead there and those who were still falling, said with a groan: "They would have it so; they brought me to such a pass that if I, Caius Caesar, after waging successfully the greatest wars, had dismissed my forces, I should have been condemned in their courts."[2] Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were uttered by him in Latin at the time; he also says that most of the slain were servants who were killed at the taking of the camp, and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when

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[1] Chapters lxxvii.-lxxx.

[2] Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem (Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 30).

*μένῳ μὲν ἀγωνιᾶσαι, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ παραγεομένου
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθῆναι διαφερόντως.*

XLVII. *Σημείων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων τῆς
νίκης ἐπιφανέστατον ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ* Τράλλεις.
ἐν γὰρ ἱερῷ Νίκης *ἀνδριὰς εἱστήκει* Καίσαρος,
*καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον αὐτό τε στερεὸν φύσει
καὶ λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατεστρωμένον ἦν ἄνωθεν· ἐκ
τούτου λέγουσιν ἀνατεῖλαι φοίνικα παρὰ τὴν
βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐν δὲ* Παταβίῳ Γάϊος
Κορνήλιος, *ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ,* Λιβίου
τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γνώριμος, ἐτύγχανεν
2 *ἐπ᾿ οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ
πρῶτον μέν, ὡς* Λίβιός *φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς
μάχης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ δὴ
περαίνεται τὸ χρῆμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ
ἄνδρες. αὖθις δὲ πρὸς τῇ θέᾳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ
σημεῖα κατιδὼν ἀνήλατο μετ᾿ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν,*
"Νικᾷς, ὦ Καῖσαρ." *ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν
παρατυχόντων περιελὼν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἐνωμότως ἔφη μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι
πάλιν ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὁ* Λίβιος *οὕτως γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.*

XLVIII. Καῖσαρ *δὲ τῷ* Θετταλῶν *ἔθνει τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἀναθεὶς νικητήριον ἐδίωκε* Πομπήϊον·
ἁψάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Κνιδίους *τε* Θεοπόμπῳ
*τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους χαριζόμενος ἠλευθέρωσε,
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν* Ἀσίαν *κατοικοῦσι*
2 *τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνῆκεν. εἰς δὲ* Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
ἐπὶ Πομπηΐῳ *τεθνηκότι καταχθεὶς* Θεόδοτον
μὲν ἀπεστράφη τὴν Πομπηΐου *κεφαλὴν
προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγῖδα δεξάμενος τοῦ*

Brutus was not to be found, but when he was brought into his presence safe and sound, was pleased beyond measure.

XLVII. There were many portents of the victory, but the most remarkable one on record is that which was seen at Tralles. In that city's temple of Victory there stood a statue of Caesar, and the ground around it was itself naturally firm, and was paved with hard stone; yet from this it is said that a palm-tree shot up at the base of the statue.[1] Moreover, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man in repute as a seer, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, chanced that day to be sitting in the place of augury. And to begin with, according to Livy, he discerned the time of the battle, and said to those present that even then the event was in progress and the men were going into action. And when he looked again and observed the signs, he sprang up in a rapture crying: "Thou art victorious, O Caesar!" The bystanders being amazed, he took the chaplet from his head and declared with an oath that he would not put it on again until the event had borne witness to his art. At any rate, Livy insists that this was so.[2]

XLVIII. Caesar gave the Thessalians their freedom, to commemorate his victory, and then pursued Pompey; when he reached Asia he made the Cnidians also free, to please Theopompus the collector of fables, and for all the inhabitants of Asia remitted a third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompey's death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompey, but he accepted Pompey's seal-ring, and shed tears over

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[1] Cf. Caesar *B.C.* iii 105 *ad fin.*

[2] In Book cxi, which is lost.

ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων πλανώμενοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἑαλώκεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντας εὐεργέτησε καὶ προσηγάγετο. τοῖς δὲ φίλοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἔγραφεν ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἀπολαύοι τοῦτο μέγιστον καὶ ἥδιστον, τὸ σώζειν τινὰς ἀεὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πολιτῶν αὐτῷ.

3 *Τὸν δὲ αὐτόθι πόλεμον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον,
ἀλλ' ἔρωτι Κλεοπάτρας ἄδοξον αὐτῷ καὶ κινδυνώδη
γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς
αἰτιῶνται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ποθεινόν,
ὃς πλεῖστον δυνάμενος καὶ Πομπήϊον μὲν ἀνηρηκὼς
ἔναγχος, ἐκβεβληκὼς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν,
κρύφα μὲν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό
φασιν αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον ἔκτοτε διανυκτερεύειν ἐν
τοῖς πότοις ἕνεκα φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος· φανερῶς
δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτὸς ἐπίφθονα πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ὕβριν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων καὶ πράττων.*
4 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τὸν κάκιστον μετρουμένους
καὶ παλαιότατον σῖτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνέχεσθαι
καὶ στέργειν, ἐσθίοντας τὰ ἀλλότρια, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
δεῖπνα σκεύεσιν ἐχρῆτο ξυλίνοις καὶ κεραμεοῖς,
ὡς τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πάντα Καίσαρος ἔχοντος* 731
*εἴς τι χρέος. ὤφειλε γὰρ ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος
τότε πατὴρ Καίσαρι χιλίας ἑπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα
μυριάδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνῆκε τοῖς
παισὶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὰς δὲ χιλίας*

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[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxx. 5.
[2] See the *Pompey*, lxxvii. 2.

it.[1] Moreover, all the companions and intimates of Pompey who had been captured by the king as they wandered over the country, he treated with kindness and attached them to himself. And to his friends in Rome he wrote that this was the greatest and sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, namely, from time to time to save the lives of fellow citizens who had fought against him.

As for the war in Egypt, some say that it was not necessary, but due to Caesar's passion for Cleopatra, and that it was inglorious and full of peril for him. But others blame the king's party for it, and especially the eunuch Potheinus, who had most influence at court,[2] and had recently killed Pompey; he had also driven Cleopatra from the country, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. On this account they say that from this time on Caesar passed whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself. But in his open acts also Potheinus was unbearable, since he said and did many things that were invidious and insulting to Caesar. For instance, when the soldiers had the oldest and worst grain measured out to them, he bade them put up with it and be content, since they were eating what belonged to others; and at the state suppers he used wooden and earthen dishes, on the ground that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ware in payment of a debt. For the father of the present king owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas,[3] of which Caesar had formerly remitted a part to his children, but now demanded payment of ten millions for the

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[3] During Caesar's consulship (59 B.C.) Ptolemy Auletes was declared a friend and ally of the Romans. To secure this honour he both gave and promised money to the state.

5 ἠξίου τότε λαβὼν διαθρέψαι τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦ
δὲ Ποθεινοῦ νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ τῶν
μεγάλων ἔχεσθαι πραγμάτων κελεύοντος, ὕστερον
δὲ κομιεῖσθαι μετὰ χάριτος, εἰπὼν ὡς Αἰγυπτίων
ἐλάχιστα δέοιτο συμβούλων, κρύφα τὴν Κλεοπάτραν
ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετεπέμπετο.

XLIX. Κἀκείνη παραλαβοῦσα τῶν φίλων
Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σικελιώτην μόνον, εἰς ἀκάτιον
μικρὸν ἐμβᾶσα τοῖς μὲν βασιλείοις προσέσχεν
ἤδη συσκοτάζοντος· ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λαθεῖν ὄντος
ἄλλως, ἡ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδῦσα προτείνει
μακρὰν ἑαυτήν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱμάντι
συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον εἰσκομίζει διὰ
2 θυρῶν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ τούτῳ τε πρώτῳ
λέγεται τῷ τεχνήματι τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἁλῶναι,
λαμυρᾶς φανείσης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμιλίας καὶ
χάριτος ἥττων γενόμενος διαλλάξαι πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ὡς συμβασιλεύσουσαν. ἔπειτα δ' ἐν
ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἑστιωμένων ἁπάντων οἰκέτης
Καίσαρος κουρεύς, διὰ δειλίαν, ᾗ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ὑπερέβαλεν, οὐδὲν ἐῶν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ'
ὠτακουστῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, συνῆκεν ἐπιβουλὴν
Καίσαρι πραττομένην ὑπ' Ἀχιλλᾶ τοῦ
3 στρατηγοῦ καὶ Ποθεινοῦ τοῦ εὐνούχου. φωράσας
δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ φρουρὰν μὲν περιέστησε τῷ ἀνδρῶνι,
τὸν δὲ Ποθεινὸν ἀνεῖλεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγὼν
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περιΐστησιν αὐτῷ βαρὺν καὶ
δυσμεταχείριστον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοστῷ τοσαύτην
ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐκινδύνευσεν ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθείς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες
ἀπῳκοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· δεύτερον
δὲ περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον ἠναγκάσθη

support of his army. When, however, Potheinus bade him go away now and attend to his great affairs, assuring him that later he would get his money with thanks, Caesar replied that he had no need whatever of Egyptians as advisers, and secretly sent for Cleopatra from the country.

XLIX. So Cleopatra, taking only Apollodorus the Sicilian from among her friends, embarked in a little skiff and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark; and as it was impossible to escape notice otherwise, she stretched herself at full length inside a bed-sack, while Apollodorus tied the bed-sack up with a cord and carried it indoors to Caesar. It was by this device of Cleopatra's, it is said, that Caesar was first captivated, for she showed herself to be a bold coquette, and succumbing to the charm of further intercourse with her, he reconciled her to her brother on the basis of a joint share with him in the royal power. Then, as everybody was feasting to celebrate the reconciliation, a slave of Caesar's, his barber, who left nothing unscrutinized, owing to a timidity in which he had no equal, but kept his ears open and was here, there, and everywhere, perceived that Achillas the general and Potheinus the eunuch were hatching a plot against Caesar. After Caesar had found them out, he set a guard about the banqueting-hall, and put Potheinus to death; Achillas, however, escaped to his camp, and raised about Caesar a war grievous and difficult for one who was defending himself with so few followers against so large a city and army. In this war, to begin with, Caesar encountered the peril of being shut off from water, since the canals were dammed up by the enemy; in the second place, when the enemy tried to cut off his fleet, he

*διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν
μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον
4 διέφθειρε· τρίτον δὲ περὶ τῇ Φάρῳ μάχης
συνεστώσης κατεπήδησε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος
εἰς ἀκάτιον καὶ παρεβοήθει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις,
ἐπιπλεόντων δὲ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπενήξατο μόλις
καὶ χαλεπῶς. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται βιβλίδια κρατῶν
πολλὰ μὴ προέσθαι βαλλόμενος καὶ βαπτιζόμενος,
ἀλλ' ἀνέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ
βιβλίδια τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ νήχεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἀκάτιον
5 εὐθὺς ἐβυθίσθη. τέλος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ἐπελθὼν καὶ
συνάψας μάχην ἐνίκησε, πολλῶν πεσόντων αὐτοῦ
τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφανοῦς γενομένου. καταλιπὼν
δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύουσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ
μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦσαν υἱόν, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς
Καισαρίωνα προσηγόρευον, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ
Συρίας.*

L. *Κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπυνθάνετο Δομίτιον
μὲν ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παιδὸς
ἡττημένον ἐκ Πόντου πεφευγέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις,
Φαρνάκην δὲ τῇ νίκῃ χρώμενον ἀπλήστως καὶ
Βιθυνίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀρμενίας
ἐφίεσθαι τῆς μικρᾶς καλουμένης, καὶ πάντας
ἀνιστάναι τοὺς ταύτῃ βασιλεῖς καὶ τετράρχας.
2 εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τρισὶν ἤλαυνε τάγμασι,
καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ζῆλαν μάχην μεγάλην συνάψας
αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοῦ Πόντου φεύγοντα, τὴν δὲ*

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[1] In the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy (*ob.* 283 B.C.). The destruction of the library can have been only partial.

was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library[1]; and thirdly, when a battle arose at Pharos,[2] he sprang from the mole into a small boat and tried to go to the aid of his men in their struggle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from every side, so that he threw himself into the sea and with great difficulty escaped by swimming. At this time, too, it is said that he was holding many papers in his hand and would not let them go, though missiles were flying at him and he was immersed in the sea, but held them above water with one hand and swam with the other; his little boat had been sunk at the outset.[3] But finally, after the king had gone away to the enemy, he marched against him and conquered him in a battle where many fell and the king himself disappeared. Then, leaving Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt (a little later she had a son by him whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion), he set out for Syria.

L. On leaving that country and traversing Asia,[4] he learned that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnaces the son of Mithridates and had fled from Pontus with a few followers; also that Pharnaces, using his victory without stint, and occupying Bithynia and Cappadocia, was aiming to secure the country called Lesser Armenia, and was rousing to revolt all the princes and tetrarchs there. At once, therefore, Caesar marched against him with three legions, fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela, drove him in flight out of Pontus, and

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[2] An island off Alexandria, connected with the mainland by a mole, or causeway, which divided the harbour into two parts.

[3] Cf. Dio Cassius, xlii. 40.

[4] In July of 47 B.C.

στρατιὰν ἄρδην ἀνεῖλε. καὶ τῆς μάχης ταύτης τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναγγέλλων εἰς Ῥώμην πρός τινα τῶν φίλων Ἀμάντιον ἔγραψε τρεῖς λέξεις· “[1]Ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα.” Ῥωμαϊστὶ δὲ αἱ λέξεις εἰς ὅμοιον ἀποληγουσαι σχῆμα ῥήματος οὐκ ἀπίθανον τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἔχουσιν.

LI. *Ἐκ τούτου διαβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνέβαι-
νεν εἰς Ῥώμην, τοῦ μὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος
εἰς ὃν ᾕρητο δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδέποτε τῆς* 732
*ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον ἐνιαυσίου γενομένης· εἰς
δὲ τοὐπιὸν ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ κακῶς ἤκου-
σεν ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν στασιασάντων καὶ δύο
στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνελόντων, Κοσκώνιον καὶ
Γάλβαν, ἐπετίμησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ὅσον
ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν πολίτας προσαγορεῦσαι, χιλίας
δὲ διένειμεν ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς καὶ χώραν τῆς Ἰτα-*
2 *λίας ἀπεκλήρωσε πολλήν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ διαβολὴ
καὶ ἡ Δολοβέλλα μανία καὶ ἡ Ἀμαντίου φιλαρ-
γυρία καὶ μεθύων Ἀντώνιος καὶ Κορφίνιος τὴν
Πομπηΐου σκευωρούμενος οἰκίαν καὶ μετοικοδο-
μῶν ὡς ἱκανὴν οὐκ οὖσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ ἐδυσ-
φόρουν Ῥωμαῖοι. Καῖσαρ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἠναγ-
κάζετο χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσι.*

LII. *Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκηπίωνα μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην εἰς Λιβύην φυγόντων κἀκεῖ, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰόβα βοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἠθροικότων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς*

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[1] Veni, vidi, vici. According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 37), the words were displayed in Caesar's Pontic triumph.

annihilated his army. In announcing the swiftness and fierceness of this battle to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius, Caesar wrote three words: "Came, saw, conquered."[1] In Latin, however, the words have the same inflectional ending, and so a brevity which is most impressive.

LI. After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator,[2] though that office had never before been for a whole year; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke ill of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius, he censured them only so far as to call them "citizens" when he addressed them, instead of "soldiers,"[3] and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompey on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistants.

LII. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio made their escape to Africa, and there, with the aid of King Juba, collected considerable forces. Caesar therefore resolved to make an expedition against them. So, about the time of the winter solstice, he

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[2] The senate named Caesar Dictator for the year 47 immediately after the battle at Pharsalus.

[3] Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 93.

διαβὰς εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ βουλόμενος εὐθὺς ἀποκόψαι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα μελλήσεως καὶ διατριβῆς, ἐπὶ τοῦ κλύσματος ἔπηξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν· καὶ γενομένου πνεύματος ἐμβὰς ἀνήχθη μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ 2 *ἱππέων ὀλίγων. ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τούτους λαθὼν ἀνήχθη πάλιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μείζονος ὀρρωδῶν δυνάμεως· καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὖσιν ἤδη προστυχὼν κατήγαγεν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

Πυνθανόμενος δὲ χρησμῷ τινι παλαιῷ θαρρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς προσῆκον ἀεὶ τῷ Σκηπιώνων γένει κρατεῖν ἐν Λιβύῃ, χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν εἴτε φλαυρίζων ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι τὸν Σκηπίωνα στρατηγοῦντα 3 *τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε καὶ σπουδῇ τὸν οἰωνὸν οἰκειούμενος, ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἄνθρωπος ἄλλως μὲν εὐκαταφρόνητος καὶ παρημελημένος, οἰκίας δὲ τῆς Ἀφρικανῶν (Σκηπίων ἐκαλεῖτο Σαλλουστίων), τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προέταττεν ὥσπερ ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀναγκαζόμενος πολλάκις* 4 *ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν. ἦν γὰρ οὔτε σῖτος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄφθονος οὔτε ὑποζυγίοις χιλός, ἀλλὰ βρύοις ἠναγκάζοντο θαλαττίοις, ἀποπλυθείσης τῆς ἁλμυρίδος, ὀλίγην ἄγρωστιν ὥσπερ ἥδυσμα παραμιγνύντες ἐπάγειν τοὺς ἵππους. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἐπιφαινόμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ ταχεῖς ἑκάστοτε κατεῖχον τὴν χώραν· καί ποτε τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων σχολὴν ἀγόντων* 5 *(ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Λίβυς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὄρχησιν ἅμα καὶ μοναυλῶν θαύματος ἀξίως, οἱ δὲ τερπόμενοι καθῆντο τοῖς παισὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπιτρέψαντες), ἐξαίφνης περιελθόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι, τοῖς δὲ*

crossed into Sicily, and wishing to cut off at once in the minds of his officers all hope of delaying there and wasting time, he pitched his own tent on the sea-beach. When a favouring wind arose, he embarked and put to sea with three thousand infantry and a few horsemen. Then, after landing these unobserved, he put to sea again, being full of fears for the larger part of his force, and meeting them after they were already at sea, he conducted all into camp.

On learning that the enemy were emboldened by an ancient oracle to the effect that it was always the prerogative of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Africa, he either flouted in pleasantry the Scipio who commanded the enemy, or else tried in good earnest to appropriate to himself the omen, it is hard to say which. He had under him, namely, a man who otherwise was a contemptible nobody, but belonged to the family of the Africani, and was called Scipio Sallustio. This man Caesar put in the forefront of his battles as if commander of the army, being compelled to attack the enemy frequently and to force the fighting. For there was neither sufficient food for his men nor fodder for his beasts of burden, nay, they were forced to feed their horses on sea-weed, which they washed free of its salt and mixed with a little grass to sweeten it. For the Numidians showed themselves everywhere in great numbers and speedy, and controlled the country. Indeed, while Caesar's horsemen were once off duty (a Libyan was showing them how he could dance and play the flute at the same time in an astonishing manner, and they had committed their horses to the slaves and were sitting delighted on the ground), the enemy suddenly surrounded and attacked them, killed some of them,

εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον προτροπάδην ἐλαυνομένοις
6 *συνεισέπεσον. εἰ δὲ μὴ* Καῖσαρ *αὐτός, ἅμα δὲ* Καίσαρι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος *βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔσχον τὴν φυγήν, διεπέπρακτ᾽ ἂν ὁ πόλεμος. ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ καθ᾽ ἑτέραν μάχην ἐπλεονέκτησαν οἱ πολέμιοι συμπλοκῆς γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ* Καῖσαρ *τὸν ἀετοφόρον φεύγοντα λέγεται κατασχὼν ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος ἀναστρέψαι καὶ εἰπεῖν·* "Ἐνταῦθα *εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι.*"

LIII. Τούτοις *μέντοι τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπήρθη* Σκηπίων *μάχῃ κριθῆναι· καὶ καταλιπὼν χωρὶς μὲν* Ἀφράνιον, *χωρὶς δὲ* Ἰόβαν *δι᾽ ὀλίγου στρατοπεδεύοντας, αὐτὸς ἐτείχιζεν ὑπὲρ λίμνης ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ πόλιν* Θάψον, *ὡς εἴη πᾶσιν ἐπὶ*
2 *τὴν μάχην ὁρμητήριον καὶ καταφυγή. πονουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα* Καῖσαρ *ὑλώδεις τόπους καὶ προσβολὰς ἀφράστους ἔχοντας ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει διελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἐκυκλοῦτο, τοῖς δὲ προσέβαλλε κατὰ στόμα. τρεψάμενος δὲ τούτους ἐχρῆτο τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς τύχης, ὑφ᾽ ἧς* 733 *αὐτοβοεὶ μὲν ᾕρει τὸ* Ἀφρανίου *στρατόπεδον, αὐτοβοεὶ δὲ φεύγοντος* Ἰόβα *διεπόρθει τὸ τῶν* Νομάδων· *ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς μέρει μικρῷ τριῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγκρατὴς γεγονὼς καὶ πεντακισμυρίους τῶν πολεμίων ἀνῃρηκὼς οὐδὲ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλεν.*

3 Οἱ *μὲν ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ἀναγγέλλουσιν· οἱ δὲ οὔ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενέσθαι, συντάττοντος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ διακοσμοῦντος ἅψασθαι τὸ σύνηθες νόσημα· τὸν δὲ εὐθὺς αἰσθόμενον ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ κατα-*

and followed hard upon the heels of the rest as they were driven headlong into camp. And if Caesar himself, and with him Asinius Pollio, had not come from the ramparts to their aid and checked their flight, the war would have been at an end. On one occasion, too, in another battle, the enemy got the advantage in the encounter, and here it is said that Caesar seized by the neck the fugitive standard-bearer, faced him about, and said: "Yonder is the enemy."

LIII. However, Scipio was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle: so, leaving Afranius and Juba encamped separately at a short distance apart, he himself began fortifying a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, that it might serve the whole army as a place from which to sally out to the battle, and as a place of refuge. But while he was busy with this project, Caesar made his way with inconceivable speed through woody regions which afforded unknown access to the spot, outflanked some of the enemy, and attacked others in front. Then, after routing these, he took advantage of the favourable instant and of the impetus of fortune, and thereby captured the camp of Afranius at the first onset, and at the first onset sacked the camp of the Numidians, from which Juba fled. Thus in a brief portion of one day he made himself master of three camps and slew fifty thousand of the enemy, without losing as many as fifty of his own men.[1]

This is the account which some give of the battle; others, however, say that Caesar himself was not in the action, but that, as he was marshalling and arraying his army, his usual sickness laid hold of him, and he, at once aware that it was beginning, before his

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[1] In April of 46 B.C.

λαμβάνεσθαι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν αἴσθησιν ἤδη σειομένην, εἴς τινα τῶν πλησίον πύργων κομισθῆναι καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. τῶν δὲ πεφευγότων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπατικῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν ἁλισκόμενοι, συχνοὺς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔκτεινεν ἁλόντας.

LIV. Κάτωνα δὲ λαβεῖν ζῶντα φιλοτιμούμενος ἔσπευδε πρὸς Ἰτύκην· ἐκείνην γὰρ παραφυλάττων τὴν πόλιν οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἀγῶνος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ διεργάσαιτο, δῆλος μὲν ἦν δηχθείς, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ δὲ ἄδηλον. εἶπε δ᾽ οὖν· "Ὦ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ σύ μοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας." ὁ μὲν οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Κάτωνα τεθνεῶτα λόγος οὐ δοκεῖ πρᾴως ἔχοντος οὐδὲ εὐδιαλλάκτως σημεῖον εἶναι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐφείσατο ζῶντος εἰς
2 ἀναίσθητον ἐκχέας ὀργὴν τοσαύτην; τῇ δὲ πρὸς Κικέρωνα καὶ Βροῦτον αὐτοῦ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους τῶν πεπολεμηκότων ἐπιεικείᾳ τεκμαίρονται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀπεχθείας, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολιτικῇ συντετάχθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος, ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμενος Κάτωνα· καὶ πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἦν διὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοτάτου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς τὴν καλλίστην πεποιημένος ὑπόθε-
3 σιν. τοῦτο ἠνία Καίσαρα, κατηγορίαν αὑτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἔπαινον. ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλάς τινας κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναγαγών· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται. καὶ σπουδαστὰς ἔχει τῶν λόγων ἑκάτερος διὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Κάτωνα πολλούς.

already wavering senses were altogether confounded and overpowered by the malady, was carried to a neighbouring tower, where he stayed quietly during the battle. Of the men of consular and praetorial rank who escaped from the battle, some slew themselves at the moment of their capture, and others were put to death by Caesar after capture.

LIV. Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself,[1] and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate, he said: "Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life." Now, the treatise which Caesar afterwards wrote against Cato when he was dead, does not seem to prove that he was in a gentle or reconcilable mood. For how could he have spared Cato alive, when he poured out against him after death so great a cup of wrath? And yet from his considerate treatment of Cicero and Brutus and thousands more who had fought against him, it is inferred that even this treatise was not composed out of hatred, but from political ambition, for reasons which follow. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato which he entitled "Cato"; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as was natural, since it was composed by the ablest of orators on the noblest of themes. This annoyed Caesar, who thought that Cicero's praise of the dead Cato was a denunciation of Caesar himself. Accordingly, he wrote a treatise in which he got together countless charges against Cato; and the work is entitled "Anti-Cato." Both treatises have many eager readers, as well on account of Caesar as of Cato.

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[1] See the *Cato Minor* lxv.

LV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Λιβύης, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἐμεγαληγόρησε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοσαύτην κεχειρωμένος χώραν ὅση παρέξει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σίτου μὲν εἴκοσι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν μεδίμνων, ἐλαίου δὲ λιτρῶν μυριάδας τριακοσίας. ἔπειτα θριάμβους κατήγαγε τὸν Αἰγυπτιακόν, τὸν Ποντικόν, τὸν Λιβυκόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Ἰόβα δῆθεν τοῦ βασιλέως.

2 τότε καὶ Ἰόβας υἱὸς ὢν ἐκείνου κομιδῇ νήπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἁλοὺς ἅλωσιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐναρίθμιος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους στρατιώταις τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανεν ἑστιάσεσι καὶ θέαις, ἑστιάσας μὲν ἐν δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώσῃ.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς θέας γενομένων τιμήσεων ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων δυεῖν καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐξητάσθησαν αἱ πᾶσαι πεντεκαίδεκα. τηλικαύτην ἡ στάσις ἀπειργάσατο συμφορὰν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπανάλωσε τοῦ δήμου μέρος, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένοις τὰ κατασχόντα τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀτυχήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας.

LVI. Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὸ τέταρτον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐστράτευσεν

LV. But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, asserting that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large gifts and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-couches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken,[1] and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. After these matters had been finished and he had been declared consul for the fourth time, Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the

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[1] According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 41), this was not a census of all the people, but a revision of the number of poorer citizens entitled to receive allowances of grain from the state.

ἐπὶ τοὺς Πομπηΐου παῖδας, νέους μὲν ὄντας ἔτι,
θαυμαστὴν δὲ τῷ πλήθει στρατιὰν συνειλοχότας
καὶ τόλμαν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἀξιόχρεων πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν, 734
ὥστε κίνδυνον τῷ Καίσαρι περιστῆσαι
2 τὸν ἔσχατον. ἡ δὲ μεγάλη μάχη περὶ πόλιν
συνέστη Μοῦνδαν, ἐν ᾗ Καῖσαρ ἐκθλιβομένους
ὁρῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐβόα,
διὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν τάξεων διαθέων, εἰ μηδὲν
αἰδοῦνται λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς παιδαρίοις.
μόλις δὲ προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς πολεμίους
ὠσάμενος ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους διέφθειρε,
τῶν δὲ αὑτοῦ χιλίους ἀπώλεσε τοὺς ἀρίστους.
3 ἀπιὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς
φίλους εἶπεν ὡς πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ
νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς. ταύτην τὴν
μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, καθ' ἣν
λέγεται καὶ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐξελθεῖν· διὰ μέσου δὲ χρόνος ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων
διῆλθε. τῶν δὲ Πομπηΐου παίδων ὁ μὲν νεώτερος
διέφυγε, τοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρου μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας
Δείδιος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν κεφαλήν.

4 Τοῦτον ἔσχατον Καῖσαρ ἐπολεμησε τὸν πόλεμον·
ὁ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταχθεὶς θρίαμβος ὡς
οὐδὲν ἄλλο Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους
ἡγεμόνας οὐδὲ βαρβάρους βασιλεῖς κατηγωνισμένον,
ἀνδρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων κρατίστου τύχαις
κεχρημένου παῖδας καὶ γένος ἄρδην ἀνῃρηκότα
ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπομπεύειν συμφοραῖς
οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἀγαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὧν μία
καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογία τὸ
μετ' ἀνάγκης πεπρᾶχθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρότερον
μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ πέμψαντα

sons of Pompey. These were still young, but had collected an army of amazing numbers and displayed a boldness which justified their claims to leadership, so that they beset Caesar with the greatest peril. The great battle was joined near the city of Munda, and here Caesar, seeing his own men hard pressed and making a feeble resistance, asked in a loud voice as he ran through the armed ranks whether they felt no shame to take him and put him in the hands of those boys. With difficulty and after much strenuous effort he repulsed the enemy and slew over thirty thousand of them, but he lost one thousand of his own men, and those the very best. As he was going away after the battle he said to his friends that he had often striven for victory, but now first for his life. He fought this victorious battle on the day of the festival of Bacchus,[1] on which day also it is said that Pompey the Great had gone forth to the war; a period of four years intervened. As for Pompey's sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.

This was the last war that Caesar waged; and the triumph that was celebrated for it vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune; and it was not meet for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country, priding himself upon actions which had no defence before gods or men except that they had been done under necessity, and that too although previously he had sent neither messenger nor letters to announce

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[1] March 17, 45 B.C.

περὶ νίκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων, ἀλλ᾽
ἀπωσάμενον αἰσχύνῃ τὴν δόξαν.

LVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ἐγκεκλικότες καὶ δεδεγμένοι τὸν χαλινόν,
καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀναπνοὴν
ἡγούμενοι τὴν μοναρχίαν, δικτάτορα μὲν αὐτὸν
ἀπέδειξαν διὰ βίου· τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν ὁμολογουμένη
τυραννίς, τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ ἀκατά-
2 παυστον προσλαβούσης· τιμὰς δὲ τὰς πρώτας
Κικέρωνος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν γράψαντος, ὧν ἁμῶς
γέ πως ἀνθρώπινον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἕτεροι προσ-
τιθέντες ὑπερβολὰς καὶ διαμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πρᾳοτάτοις ἐπαχθῆ
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον
καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφιζομένων, οἷς οὐδὲν
ἧττον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων
3 Καίσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας
κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ προφάσεις ἔχωσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων
ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δοκῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τά γε
ἄλλα, τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτῷ πολέμων πέρας ἐσχη-
κότων, ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν[1] παρεῖχε· καὶ τό γε
τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἱερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου δοκοῦσι
χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ πρᾳότητι ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ
γὰρ ἀφῆκε πολλοὺς τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πρὸς
αὐτόν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμάς, ὡς Βρούτῳ
καὶ Κασσίῳ, προσέθηκεν· ἐστρατήγουν γὰρ ἀμ-
4 φότεροι. καὶ τὰς Πομπηΐου καταβεβλημένας
εἰκόνας οὐ περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέστησεν, ἐφ᾽ ὧν καὶ
Κικέρων εἶπεν ὅτι Καῖσαρ τοὺς Πομπηΐου στήσας
ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ἰδίους ἔπηξε. τῶν δὲ φίλων

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[1] ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτόν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: ἀνέγκλητον.

to the people a victory in the civil wars, but had scrupulously put from him the fame arising therefrom.

LVII. However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the temple of Clemency was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his mildness. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors. The statues of Pompey, too, which had been thrown down, he would not suffer to remain so, but set them up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.[1] When his friends thought it

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[1] Cf. *Cicero*, xl. 4, p. 186.

ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἐπὶ
τοῦτο παρεχόντων ἑαυτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, εἰπὼν
ὡς βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν.
τὴν δ' εὔνοιαν ὡς κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ βεβαιότατον
ἑαυτῷ περιβαλλόμενος φυλακτήριον,
αὖθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον ἑστιάσεσι καὶ σιτηρεσίοις,
τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίαις, ὧν ἐπιφανέσταται
Καρχηδὼν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦσαν, αἷς
καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν
ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφοτέραις γενέσθαι
συνέτυχε.

LVIII. Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τοῖς μὲν ὑπατείας καὶ
στρατηγίας εἰς τοὐπιὸν ἐπηγγέλλετο, τοὺς δ'
ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐξουσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς παρεμυθεῖτο,
πᾶσι δὲ ἐλπίζειν ἐνεδίδου, μνηστευόμενος ἄρχειν 735
ἑκόντων, ὡς καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ ὑπάτου τελευτήσαντος
εἰς τὴν περιοῦσαν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς μίαν
ἡμέραν ὕπατον ἀποδεῖξαι Κανίνιον Ῥεβίλιον.
πρὸς ὅν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλῶν δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προπέμψαι
βαδιζόντων ὁ Κικέρων, "Σπεύδωμεν,"
ἔφη, "πρὶν φθάσῃ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἄνθρωπος."

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φύσει μεγαλουργὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
φιλότιμον αἱ πολλαὶ κατορθώσεις οὐ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν
ἔτρεπον τῶν πεπονημένων, ἀλλ' ὑπέκκαυμα
καὶ θάρσος οὖσαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
μειζόνων ἐνέτικτον ἐπινοίας πραγμάτων καὶ
καινῆς ἔρωτα δόξης ὡς ἀποκεχρημένῳ τῇ
παρούσῃ, τὸ μὲν πάθος οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ ζῆλος
αὑτοῦ καθάπερ ἄλλου καὶ φιλονεικία τις ὑπὲρ
3 τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρασκευὴ

best that he should have a body-guard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. And in the effort to surround himself with men's good will as the fairest and at the same time the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distributions of grain, and his soldiers with newly planted colonies, the most conspicuous of which were Carthage and Corinth. The earlier capture of both these cities, as well as their present restoration, chanced to fall at one and the same time.[1]

LVIII. As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with sundry other powers and honours, and in all he implanted hopes, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. Therefore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day still remaining of the term of office. To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said: "Let us make haste, or else the man's consulship will have expired."

Caesar's many successes, however, did not divert his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoyment of what he had laboriously achieved, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and begat in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. What he felt was therefore nothing else than emulation of himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he purposed to do. For he

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[1] Both cities were captured in 146 B.C., and both were restored in 44 B.C.

*δὲ καὶ γνώμη στρατεύειν μὲν ἐπὶ Πάρθους,
καταστρεψαμένῳ δὲ τούτους, καὶ δι' Ὑρκανίας
παρὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Καύκασον
ἐκπεριελθόντι τὸν Πόντον, εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν,
καὶ τὰ περίχωρα Γερμανοῖς καὶ Γερμανίαν
αὐτὴν ἐπιδραμόντι διὰ Κελτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν
εἰς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ συνάψαι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον τῆς
ἡγεμονίας τῷ πανταχόθεν Ὠκεανῷ περιορισθείσης.
4 διὰ μέσου δε τῆς στρατείας τόν τε Κορίνθιον
Ἰσθμὸν ἐπεχείρει διασκάπτειν, Ἀνιηνὸν ἐπὶ
τούτῳ προχειρισάμενος, καὶ τὸν Τίβεριν εὐθὺς
ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολαβὼν διώρυχι βαθείᾳ καὶ
περικλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ Κιρκαῖον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν
πρὸς Ταρρακίνῃ θάλατταν, ἀσφάλειαν ἅμα καὶ
ῥᾳστώνην τοῖς δι' ἐμπορίας φοιτῶσιν εἰς Ῥώμην
5 μηχανώμενος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἕλη τὰ
περὶ Πωμεντῖνον καὶ Σητίαν ἐκτρέψας πεδίον
ἀποδεῖξαι πολλαῖς ἐνεργὸν ἀνθρώπων μυριάσι,
τῇ δὲ ἔγγιστα τῆς Ῥώμης θαλάσσῃ κλεῖθρα διὰ
χωμάτων ἐπαγαγών, καὶ τὰ τυφλὰ καὶ δύσορμα
τῆς Ὠστιανῆς ἠϊόνος ἀνακαθηράμενος, λιμένας
ἐμποιήσασθαι καὶ ναύλοχα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀξιόπιστα
ναυτιλίαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦν.*

LIX. *Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου διάθεσις καὶ διόρθωσις τῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀνωμαλίας φιλοσοφηθεῖσα χαριέντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος λαβοῦσα γλαφυρωτάτην παρέσχε χρείαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς πάνυ χρόνοις τεταραγμέναις ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τῶν μηνῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περιόδοις, ὥστε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑποφερομένας κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἐναντίας ἐκπεπτω-*

planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia; and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition, moreover, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeium, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, thus contriving for merchantmen a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome; and besides this, to convert the marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate; and further, to build moles which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. The adjustment of the calendar, however, and the correction of the irregularity in the computation of time, were not only studied scientifically by him, but also brought to completion, and proved to be of the highest utility. For not only in very ancient times was the relation of the lunar to the solar year in great confusion among the Romans, so that the sacrificial feasts and festivals, diverging gradually, at last fell in opposite seasons of the year,

2 κέναι τοῖς χρόνοις ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τότε
οὖσαν ἡλιακὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασι τούτων
ἀσυλλογίστως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς μόνοι τὸν καιρὸν
εἰδότες ἐξαίφνης καὶ προῃσθημένου μηδενὸς τὸν
ἐμβόλιμον προσέγραφον μῆνα, Μερκηδόνιον ὀνομάζοντες,
ὃν Νομᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐμβαλεῖν
λέγεται, μικρὰν καὶ διατείνουσαν οὐ πόρρω βοήθειαν
ἐξευρὼν τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις
πλημμελείας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.
3 Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ
μαθηματικῶν τὸ πρόβλημα προθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων
ἤδη μεθόδων ἔμιξεν ἰδίαν τινὰ καὶ διηκριβωμένην
μᾶλλον ἐπανόρθωσιν, ᾗ χρώμενοι
μέχρι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι δοκοῦσιν ἧττον ἑτέρων σφάλλεσθαι
περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῦτο τοῖς βασκαίνουσι καὶ βαρυνομένοις τὴν
δύναμιν αἰτίας παρεῖχε. Κικέρων γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ,
ὡς ἔοικε, φήσαντός τινος αὔριον ἐπιτέλλειν Λύραν,
“Ναί,” εἶπεν, “ἐκ διατάγματος,” ὡς καὶ τοῦτο
πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεχομένων.

LX. Τὸ δὲ ἐμφανὲς μάλιστα μῖσος καὶ θανατηφόρον
ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρως ἐξειργάσατο,
τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς αἰτία πρώτη, τοῖς δὲ
ὑπούλοις πάλαι πρόφασις εὐπρεπεστάτη γενομένη.
καίτοι καὶ λόγον τινὰ κατέσπειραν εἰς
τὸν δῆμον οἱ ταύτην Καίσαρι τὴν τιμὴν προξενοῦντες,
ὡς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλείων ἁλώσιμα 736
τὰ Πάρθων φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαίοις σὺν βασιλεῖ

but also at this time people generally had no way of computing the actual solar year;[1] the priests alone knew the proper time, and would suddenly and to everybody's surprise insert the intercalary month called Mercedonius. Numa the king is said to have been the first to intercalate this month, thus devising a slight and short-lived remedy for the error in regard to the sidereal and solar cycles, as I have said in his Life.[2] But Caesar laid the problem before the best philosophers and mathematicians, and out of the methods of correction which were already at hand compounded one of his own which was more accurate than any. This the Romans use down to the present time, and are thought to be less in error than other peoples as regards the inequality between the lunar and solar years. However, even this furnished occasion for blame to those who envied Caesar and disliked his power. At any rate, Cicero the orator, we are told, when some one remarked that Lyra would rise on the morrow, said: "Yes, by decree," implying that men were compelled to accept even this dispensation.

LX. But the most open and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it. And yet those who were advocating this honour for Caesar actually spread abroad among the people a report that from the Sibylline books it appeared that Parthia could be taken if the Romans went up against it with a king,

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[1] At this time the Roman calendar was more than two months ahead of the solar year. Caesar's reform went into effect in 46 B.C.

[2] Chapter xviii.

στρατευομένοις ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἄλλως ἀνέφικτα ὄντα·
2 καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἄλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα.
τοῦ δὲ δήμου διαταραχθέντος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκεῖνος
οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ
γενομένης πρὸς τοῦτο πάντων σιωπῆς οὐ πάνυ
3 φαιδρὸς οὐδ' εὐμενὴς παρῆλθεν. ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ
τιμάς τινας ὑπερφυεῖς αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων ἔτυχε
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων καθεζόμενος, προσιόντων
δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ
τῆς βουλῆς ἁπάσης ἑπομένης, οὐχ ὑπεξαναστάς,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις τισὶ χρηματίζων, ἀπεκρίνατο
συστολῆς μᾶλλον ἢ προσθέσεως τὰς τιμὰς
δεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἠνίασε τὴν βουλήν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως
προπηλακιζομένης, καὶ μετὰ δεινῆς κατηφείας
4 ἀπῆλθον εὐθὺς οἷς ἐξῆν μὴ παραμένειν, ὥστε κἀκεῖνον
ἐννοήσαντα παραχρῆμα μὲν οἴκαδε τραπέσθαι
καὶ βοᾶν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀπαγαγόντα
τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὡς ἕτοιμος εἴη τῷ βουλομένῳ
τὴν σφαγὴν παρέχειν, ὕστερον δὲ προφασίζεσθαι
τὴν νόσον· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν τὴν αἴσθησιν
ἀτρεμεῖν τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὅταν ἱστάμενοι διαλέγωνται
πρὸς ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ σειομένην ταχὺ καὶ
περιφερομένην ἰλίγγους ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ
5 καταλαμβάνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάνυ βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπεξαναστῆναι τῇ βουλῇ
λέγουσιν ὑπό του τῶν φίλων, μᾶλλον δὲ κολάκων,
Κορνηλίου Βάλβου, κατασχεθῆναι φήσαντος·
“Οὐ μεμνήσῃ Καῖσαρ ὤν, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσεις ὡς
κρείττονα θεραπεύεσθαι σεαυτόν;”

but otherwise could not be assailed; and as Caesar was coming down from Alba into the city they ventured to hail him as king. But at this the people were confounded, and Caesar, disturbed in mind, said that his name was not King, but Caesar, and seeing that his words produced an universal silence, he passed on with no very cheerful or contented looks. Moreover, after sundry extravagant honours had been voted him in the senate, it chanced that he was sitting above the rostra, and as the praetors and consuls drew near, with the whole senate following them, he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senators the state was insulted, and in a terrible dejection they went away at once, all who were not obliged to remain, so that Caesar too, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and drawing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying: "Remember that thou art Caesar, and permit thyself to be courted as a superior."

LXI. Ἐπιγίνεται τούτοις τοῖς προσκρούσμασιν
ὁ τῶν δημάρχων προπηλακισμός. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ
τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτή, περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ γράφουσιν
ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἴη, καί τι καὶ
2 προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Λυκαίοις. τῶν δ’
εὐγενῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ διαθέουσιν
ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνοί, σκύτεσι λασίοις
τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλωτι παίοντες·
πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει γυναικῶν ἐπίτηδες
ὑπαντῶσαι παρέχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν διδασκάλου τὼ
χεῖρε ταῖς πληγαῖς, πεπεισμέναι πρὸς εὐτοκίαν
κυούσαις, ἀγόνοις δὲ πρὸς κύησιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.
3 ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἐθεᾶτο καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων
ἐπὶ δίφρου χρυσοῦ, θριαμβικῷ κόσμῳ κεκοσμημένος.
Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν θεόντων τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον
εἷς ἦν· καὶ γὰρ ὑπάτευεν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ διέστη,
φέρων διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον
ὤρεξε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ γίνεται κρότος οὐ λαμπρός,
4 ἀλλ’ ὀλίγος ἐκ παρασκευῆς. ἀπωσαμένου
δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρότησεν·
αὖθις δὲ προσφέροντος ὀλίγοι, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένου
πάλιν ἅπαντες. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πείρας ἐξελεγχομένης
Καῖσαρ μὲν ἀνίσταται, τὸν στέφανον εἰς
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὤφθησαν
δὲ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ διαδήμασιν ἀναδεδεμένοι
βασιλικοῖς. καὶ τῶν δημάρχων δύο, Φλαούϊος
καὶ Μάρυλλος, ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ
τοὺς ἀσπασαμένους βασιλέα τὸν Καίσαρα πρώτους
5 ἐξευρόντες ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ὁ
δὲ δῆμος εἵπετο κροτῶν, καὶ Βρούτους ἀπεκάλει
τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅτι Βροῦτος ἦν ὁ καταλύσας τὴν τῶν

LXI. There was added to these causes of offence his insult to the tribunes. It was, namely, the festival of the Lupercalia, of which many write that it was anciently celebrated by shepherds, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaea. At this time many of the noble youths and of the magistrates run up and down through the city naked, for sport and laughter striking those they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of rank also purposely get in their way, and like children at school present their hands to be struck, believing that the pregnant will thus be helped to an easy delivery, and the barren to pregnancy. These ceremonies Caesar was witnessing, seated upon the rostra on a golden throne, arrayed in triumphal attire. And Antony was one of the runners in the sacred race; for he was consul. Accordingly, after he had dashed into the forum and the crowd had made way for him, he carried a diadem, round which a wreath of laurel was tied, and held it out to Caesar. Then there was applause, not loud, but slight and preconcerted. But when Caesar pushed away the diadem, all the people applauded; and when Antony offered it again, few, and when Caesar declined it again, all, applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Caesar rose from his seat, after ordering the wreath to be carried up to the Capitol; but then his statues were seen to have been decked with royal diadems. So two of the tribunes, Flavius and Maryllus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and after discovering those who had first hailed Caesar as king, led them off to prison. Moreover, the people followed the tribunes with applause and called them Brutuses, because Brutus was the man who put

βασιλέων διαδοχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς βουλὴν καὶ
δῆμον ἐκ μοναρχίας καταστήσας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ
Καῖσαρ παροξυνθεὶς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο τῶν
περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν
ἅμα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐφυβρίζων πολλάκις Βρούτους
τε καὶ Κυμαίους ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας.

LXII. Οὕτω δὴ τρέπονται πρὸς Μάρκον Βροῦτον
οἱ πολλοί, γένος μὲν ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι δοκοῦντα
πρὸς πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Σερουιλίων, 737
οἰκίας ἑτέρας ἐπιφανοῦς, γαμβρὸν δὲ καὶ
ἀδελφιδοῦν Κάτωνος. τοῦτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν
ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἤμβλυνον
2 αἱ παρὰ Καίσαρος τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον ἐσώθη περὶ Φάρσαλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πομπηΐου
φυγῆς, οὐδὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔσωσεν
ἐξαιτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν εἶχε μεγάλην
παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγίαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε τὴν
ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔλαβεν, ὑπατεύειν δὲ ἔμελλεν εἰς
τέταρτον ἔτος, ἐρίσαντος Κασσίου προτιμηθείς.
λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαιότερα μὲν
λέγοι Κάσσιος, αὐτὸς μέντοι Βροῦτον οὐκ ἂν
3 παρέλθοι. καί ποτε καὶ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν τὸν
ἄνδρα, πραττομένης ἤδη τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐ
προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματος τῇ χειρὶ θιγὼν
ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας· "Ἀναμενεῖ τοῦτο
τὸ δέρμα Βροῦτος," ὡς ἄξιον μὲν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς
δι' ἀρετήν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀχάριστον
4 καὶ πονηρὸν γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς

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[1] See the *Publicola*, i.–ix.

[2] The word "brutus" in Latin signified *stupid* (cf. the *Publicola*, iii. 4); and the people of Cymé, in Asia Minor, were celebrated for stupidity (Strabo, p. 622).

an end to the royal succession and brought the power into the hands of the senate and people instead of a sole ruler.[1] At this, Caesar was greatly vexed, and deprived Maryllus and Flavius of their office, while in his denunciation of them, although he at the same time insulted the people, he called them repeatedly Brutes[2] and Cymaeans.[2]

LXII. Under these circumstances the multitude turned their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus, who was thought to be a descendant of the elder Brutus on his father's side, on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another illustrious house, and was a son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The desires which Brutus felt to attempt of his own accord the abolition of the monarchy were blunted by the favours and honours that he had received from Caesar. For not only had his life been spared at Pharsalus after Pompey's flight, and the lives of many of his friends at his entreaty, but also he had great credit with Caesar. He had received the most honourable of the praetorships for the current year, and was to be consul three years later, having been preferred to Cassius, who was a rival candidate. For Caesar, as we are told, said that Cassius urged the juster claims to the office, but that for his own part he could not pass Brutus by.[3] Once, too, when certain persons were actually accusing Brutus to him, the conspiracy being already on foot, Caesar would not heed them, but laying his hand upon his body said to the accusers: "Brutus will wait for this shrivelled skin,"[4] implying that Brutus was worthy to rule because of his virtue, but that for the sake of ruling he would not become a thankless villain. Those, however, who

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[3] Cf. the *Brutus*, vii. 1–3.

[4] Cf. the *Brutus* chapters viii., ix.

ἐφιέμενοι καὶ πρὸς μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ πρῶτον ἀποβλέποντες
αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι,
νύκτωρ δὲ κατεπίμπλασαν γραμμάτων τὸ βῆμα
καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἐφ᾽ οὗ στρατηγῶν ἐχρημάτιζεν·
ὧν ἦν τὰ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα· "Καθεύδεις, ὦ Βροῦτε,"
καί "Οὐκ εἶ Βροῦτος." ὑφ᾽ ὧν ὁ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενος
διακινούμενον ἡσυχῇ τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ,
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐνέκειτο καὶ παρώξυνεν, αὐτὸς
ἰδίᾳ τι καὶ μίσους ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δι᾽
αἰτίας ἃς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γεγραμμένοις
5 δεδηλώκαμεν. εἶχε μέντοι καὶ δι᾽ ὑποψίας ὁ
Καῖσαρ αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν
ποτε· "Τί φαίνεται βουλόμενος ὑμῖν Κάσσιος;
ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ λίαν ἀρέσκει λίαν ὠχρὸς ὤν."
πάλιν δὲ λέγεται, περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα
διαβολῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς νεωτερίζοιεν, ἐλθούσης,
"Οὐ πάνυ," φάναι, "τούτους δέδοικα τοὺς παχεῖς
καὶ κομήτας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ὠχροὺς καὶ λεπτοὺς
ἐκείνους·" Κάσσιον λέγων καὶ Βροῦτον.

LXIII. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικεν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπροσδόκητον
ὡς ἀφύλακτον εἶναι τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἐπεὶ καὶ
σημεῖα θαυμαστὰ καὶ φάσματα φανῆναι λέγουσι.
σέλα μὲν οὖν οὐράνια καὶ κτύπους νύκτωρ πολλαχοῦ
διαφερομένους καὶ καταίροντας εἰς ἀγορὰν
ἐρήμους ὄρνιθας οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως ἐπὶ πάθει τηλικούτῳ
2 μνημονεῦσαι· Στράβων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος
ἱστορεῖ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους ἐπιφερομένους
φανῆναι, στρατιώτου δὲ ἀνδρὸς οἰκέτην
ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν πολλὴν φλόγα καὶ
δοκεῖν καίεσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο,
μηδὲν ἔχειν κακὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· αὐτῷ δὲ Καί-

were eager for the change, and fixed their eyes on Brutus alone, or on him first, did not venture to talk with him directly, but by night they covered his praetorial tribune and chair with writings, most of which were of this sort: "Thou art asleep, Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus."[1] When Cassius perceived that the ambition of Brutus was somewhat stirred by these things, he was more urgent with him than before, and pricked him on, having himself also some private grounds for hating Caesar; these I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus.[1] Moreover, Caesar actually suspected him, so that he once said to his friends: "What, think ye, doth Cassius want? I like him not over much, for he is much too pale." And again, we are told that when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said: "I am not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones," meaning Brutus and Cassius.[1]

LXIII. But destiny, it would seem, is not so much unexpected as it is unavoidable, since they say that amazing signs and apparitions were seen. Now, as for lights in the heavens, crashing sounds borne all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum, it is perhaps not worth while to mention these precursors of so great an event; but Strabo the philosopher says[2] that multitudes of men all on fire were seen rushing up, and a soldier's slave threw from his hand a copious flame and seemed to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame ceased the man was uninjured; he says, more-

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[1] Cf. the *Brutus*, chapters viii., ix.

[2] Probably in the "Historical Commentaries" cited in the *Lucullus*, xxviii. 7.

σαρι θύοντι τὴν καρδίαν ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι τοῦ
ἱερείου καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τέρας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φύσει
3 γε συστῆναι ζῷον ἀκάρδιον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
πολλῶν ἀκοῦσαι διεξιόντων, ὥς τις αὐτῷ μάντις
ἡμέρᾳ Μαρτίου μηνός, ἣν Εἰδοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι,
προείποι μέγαν φυλάττεσθαι κίνδυνον·
ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας προϊὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον ἀσπασάμενος προσπαίξειε τῷ μάντει
φάμενος· "Αἱ μὲν δὴ Μάρτιαι Εἰδοὶ πάρεισιν," ὁ
δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴποι· "Ναὶ πάρεισιν, ἀλλ'
4 οὐ παρεληλύθασι." πρὸ μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας Μάρκου
Λεπίδου δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἔτυχε μὲν ἐπιστολαῖς
ὑπογράφων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατακείμενος· ἐμπεσόντος
δὲ λόγου ποῖος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος,
ἅπαντας φθάσας ἐξεβόησεν· "Ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος."
5 μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμώμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, παρὰ τῇ
γυναικί, πασῶν ἅμα τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ δωματίου
καὶ τῶν θυρίδων ἀναπεταννυμένων, διαταραχθεὶς
ἅμα τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ τῷ φωτὶ καταλαμπούσης τῆς
σελήνης, ᾔσθετο τὴν Καλπουρνίαν βαθέως μὲν 738
καθεύδουσαν, ἀσαφεῖς δὲ φωνὰς καὶ στεναγμοὺς
ἀνάρθρους ἀναπέμπουσαν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων· ἐδόκει
δὲ ἄρα κλαίειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσα
κατεσφαγμένον.

6 Οἱ δὲ οὔ φασι τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν
ὄψιν· ἀλλὰ ἦν γάρ τι τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ προσκείμενον
οἷον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς
βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον, ὡς Λίβιος
ἱστορεῖ, τοῦτο ὄναρ ἡ Καλπουρνία θεασαμένη
καταρρηγνύμενον ἔδοξε ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ δακρύειν.
ἡμέρας δ' οὖν γενομένης ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Καίσαρος,

over, that when Caesar himself was sacrificing, the heart of the victim was not to be found, and the prodigy caused fear, since in the course of nature, certainly, an animal without a heart could not exist. The following story, too, is told by many. A certain seer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great peril on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides; and when the day had come and Caesar was on his way to the senate-house, he greeted the seer with a jest and said: "Well, the Ides of March are come," and the seer said to him softly: "Aye, they are come, but they are not gone." Moreover, on the day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best; before any one else could answer Caesar cried out: "That which is unexpected." After this, while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him.

Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar,

εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε, μὴ προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι
τὴν σύγκλητον· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀνείρων ἐλάχιστα
φροντίζει, σκέψασθαι διὰ μαντικῆς ἄλλης
7 καὶ ἱερῶν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. εἶχε δέ τις, ὡς
ἔοικε, κἀκεῖνον ὑποψία καὶ φόβος. οὐδένα γὰρ
γυναικισμὸν ἐν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ πρότερον κατεγνώκει
τῆς Καλπουρνίας, τότε δὲ ἑώρα περιπαθοῦσαν.
ὡς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταθύσαντες οἱ μάντεις ἔφρασαν
αὐτῷ δυσιερεῖν, ἔγνω πέμψας Ἀντώνιον
ἀφεῖναι τὴν σύγκλητον.

LXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δέκιμος Βροῦτος ἐπίκλησιν
Ἀλβῖνος, πιστευόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος,
ὥστε καὶ δεύτερος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος γεγράφθαι,
τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον τὸν ἕτερον καὶ
Κάσσιον μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας, φοβηθεὶς
μὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διακρουσαμένου τοῦ
Καίσαρος ἔκπυστος ἡ πρᾶξις γένηται, τούς τε
μάντεις ἐχλεύαζε καὶ καθήπτετο τοῦ Καίσαρος,
2 ὡς αἰτίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἑαυτῷ κτωμένου πρὸς
τὴν σύγκλητον ἐντρυφᾶσθαι δοκοῦσαν· ἥκειν μὲν
γὰρ αὐτὴν κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου, καὶ προθύμους
εἶναι ψηφίζεσθαι πάντας ὅπως τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας
ἐπαρχιῶν βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο καὶ φοροίη διάδημα
3 τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιὼν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν· εἰ δὲ
φράσει τις αὐτοῖς καθεζομένοις νῦν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι,
παρεῖναι δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐντύχῃ βελτίοσιν
ὀνείροις Καλπουρνία, τίνας ἔσεσθαι λόγους παρὰ
τῶν φθονούντων; ἢ τίνα τῶν φίλων ἀνέξεσθαι
διδασκόντων ὡς οὐχὶ δουλεία ταῦτα καὶ τυραννίς
ἐστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ πάντως, ἔφη, τὴν ἡμέραν
ἀφοσιώσασθαι, βέλτιον αὐτὸν παρελθόντα καὶ
4 προσαγορεύσαντα τὴν βουλὴν ὑπερθέσθαι. ταῦθ'

if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate; if, however, he had no concern at all for her dreams, she besought him to enquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices concerning the future. And Caesar also, as it would appear, was in some suspicion and fear. For never before had he perceived in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, but now he saw that she was in great distress. And when the seers also, after many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he resolved to send Antony and dismiss the senate.

LXIV. But at this juncture Decimus Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who was so trusted by Caesar that he was entered in his will as his second heir, but was partner in the conspiracy of the other Brutus and Cassius, fearing that if Caesar should elude that day, their undertaking would become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Caesar for laying himself open to malicious charges on the part of the senators, who would think themselves mocked at; for they had met at his bidding, and were ready and willing to vote as one man that he should be declared king of the provinces outside of Italy, and might wear a diadem when he went anywhere else by land or sea; but if some one should tell them at their session to be gone now, but to come back again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what speeches would be made by his enemies, or who would listen to his friends when they tried to show that this was not slavery and tyranny? But if he was fully resolved (Albinus said) to regard the day as inauspicious, it was better that he should go in person and address the senate, and then postpone its business. While

ἅμα λέγων ὁ Βροῦτος ἦγε τῆς χειρὸς λαβόμενος τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν αὐτῷ προελθόντι τῶν θυρῶν οἰκέτης ἀλλότριος ἐντυχεῖν προθυμούμενος, ὡς ἡττᾶτο τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ὠθισμοῦ καὶ πλήθους, βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ Καλπουρνίᾳ, φυλάττειν κελεύσας ἄχρι ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἔχων μεγάλα πράγματα κατειπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

LXV. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ Κνίδιος τὸ γένος, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστὴς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς ἐνίοις συνήθης τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον, ὥστε καὶ γνῶναι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραττομένων, ἧκε μὲν ἐν βιβλιδίῳ κομίζων ἅπερ ἔμελλε μηνύειν, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν βιβλιδίων ἕκαστον δεχόμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις, ἐγγὺς σφόδρα προσελθών, "Τοῦτο," ἔφη, "Καῖσαρ, ἀνάγνωθι μόνος καὶ ταχέως· γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καί σοι διαφερόντων."
2 δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκωλύθη, καίπερ ὁρμήσας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ φυλάττων μόνον ἐκεῖνο παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἄλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, τὸν δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρον οὐδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκθλιβῆναι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν.

LXVI. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἤδη που φέρει καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸν φόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χῶρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ σύγκλητος ἠθροίσθη τότε, Πομπηΐου μὲν εἰκόνα κειμένην ἔχων, Πομπηΐου δὲ ἀνάθημα γεγονὼς τῶν προσκεκοσμη-

saying these things Brutus took Caesar by the hand and began to lead him along. And he had gone but a little way from his door when a slave belonging to some one else, eager to get at Caesar, but unable to do so for the press of numbers about him, forced his way into the house, gave himself into the hands of Calpurnia, and bade her keep him secure until Caesar came back, since he had important matters to report to him.

LXV. Furthermore, Artemidorus, a Cnidian by birth, a teacher of Greek philosophy, and on this account brought into intimacy with some of the followers of Brutus, so that he also knew most of what they were doing, came bringing to Caesar in a small roll the disclosures which he was going to make; but seeing that Caesar took all such rolls and handed them to his attendants, he came quite near, and said: "Read this, Caesar, by thyself, and speedily; for it contains matters of importance and of concern to thee." Accordingly, Caesar took the roll and would have read it, but was prevented by the multitude of people who engaged his attention, although he set out to do so many times, and holding in his hand and retaining that roll alone, he passed on into the senate. Some, however, say that another person gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not get to him at all, but was crowded away all along the route.

LXVI. So far, perhaps, these things may have happened of their own accord; the place, however, which was the scene of that struggle and murder, and in which the senate was then assembled, since it contained a statue of Pompey and had been dedicated by Pompey as an additional ornament to his

μένων τῷ θεάτρῳ, παντάπασιν ἀπέφαινε δαίμονός 739
τινος ὑφηγουμένου καὶ καλοῦντος ἐκεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν
2 ἔργον γεγονέναι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ λέγεται Κάσσιος
εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Πομπηΐου πρὸ τῆς
ἐγχειρήσεως ἀποβλέπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σιωπῇ,
καίπερ οὐκ ἀλλότριος ὢν τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων·
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ καιρός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ παρεστῶτος
ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἐνεποίει καὶ πάθος ἀντὶ τῶν
προτέρων λογισμῶν.

3 Ἀντώνιον μὲν οὖν πιστὸν ὄντα Καίσαρι καὶ
ῥωμαλέον ἔξω παρακατεῖχε Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος,
ἐμβαλὼν ἐπίτηδες ὁμιλίαν μῆκος ἔχουσαν· εἰσιόντος
δὲ Καίσαρος ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ὑπεξανέστη
θεραπεύουσα, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον οἱ μὲν ἐξόπισθεν
τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ περιέστησαν, οἱ δὲ
ἀπήντησαν, ὡς δὴ Τιλλίῳ Κίμβρῳ περὶ ἀδελφοῦ
φυγάδος ἐντυγχάνοντι συνδεησόμενοι, καὶ συνεδέοντο
4 μέχρι τοῦ δίφρου παρακολουθοῦντες. ὡς
δὲ καθίσας διεκρούετο τὰς δεήσεις καὶ προσκειμένων
βιαιότερον ἠγανάκτει πρὸς ἕκαστον, ὁ μὲν
Τίλλιος τὴν τήβεννον αὐτοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις
συλλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου κατῆγεν· ὅπερ
ἦν σύνθημα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. πρῶτος δὲ Κάσκας
ξίφει παίει παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα πληγὴν οὐ θανατηφόρον
οὐδὲ βαθεῖαν, ἀλλ᾽, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν ἀρχῇ
τολμήματος μεγάλου ταραχθείς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
Καίσαρα μεταστραφέντα τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου λα-

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[1] These discouraged belief in superhuman powers.

theatre, made it wholly clear that it was the work of some heavenly power which was calling and guiding the action thither. Indeed, it is also said that Cassius, turning his eyes toward the statue of Pompey before the attack began, invoked it silently, although he was much addicted to the doctrines of Epicurus;[1] but the crisis, as it would seem, when the dreadful attempt was now close at hand, replaced his former cool calculations with divinely inspired emotion.

Well, then, Antony, who was a friend of Caesar's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus,[2] who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation; but Caesar went in, and the senate rose in his honour. Some of the partisans of Brutus took their places round the back of Caesar's chair, while others went to meet him, as though they would support the petition which Tillius Cimber presented to Caesar in behalf of his exiled brother, and they joined their entreaties to his and accompanied Caesar up to his chair. But when, after taking his seat, Caesar continued to repulse their petitions, and, as they pressed upon him with greater importunity, began to show anger towards one and another of them, Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast.

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[2] By Caius Trebonius, rather, as Plutarch says in the *Brutus*, xvii. 1. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 117; Cicero, *ad fam.* x. 28.

5 βέσθαι καὶ κατασχεῖν. ἅμα δέ πως ἐξεφώνησαν
ὁ μὲν πληγεὶς Ῥωμαϊστί· "Μιαρώτατε Κάσκα,
τί ποιεῖς;" ὁ δὲ πλήξας Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφόν· "Ἀδελφέ, βοήθει."

Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης τοὺς μὲν
οὐδὲν συνειδότας ἔκπληξις εἶχε καὶ φρίκη πρὸς
τὰ δρώμενα, μήτε φεύγειν μήτε ἀμύνειν, ἀλλὰ
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐκβάλλειν τολμῶντας. τῶν δὲ παρεσκευασμένων
ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ἑκάστου γυμνὸν ἀποδείξαντος
6 τὸ ξίφος, ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενος καὶ
πρὸς ὅ τι τρέψειε τὴν ὄψιν πληγαῖς ἀπαντῶν
καὶ σιδήρῳ φερομένῳ καὶ κατὰ προσώπου καὶ
κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν διελαυνόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίον ἐνειλεῖτο
ταῖς πάντων χερσίν· ἅπαντας γὰρ ἔδει
κατάρξασθαι καὶ γεύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. διὸ
καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ πληγὴν ἐνέβαλε μίαν εἰς τὸν
βουβῶνα. λέγεται δὲ ὑπό τινων ὡς ἄρα πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπομαχόμενος καὶ διαφέρων δεῦρο
κἀκεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κεκραγώς, ὅτε Βροῦτον εἶδεν
ἐσπασμένον τὸ ξίφος, ἐφειλκύσατο κατὰ τῆς
7 κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ παρῆκεν ἑαυτόν, εἴτε ἀπὸ
τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν κτεινόντων ἀπωσθείς, πρὸς
τὴν βάσιν ἐφ' ἧς ὁ Πομπηΐου βέβηκεν ἀνδριάς.
καὶ πολὺ καθῄμαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ φόνος, ὡς δοκεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐφεστάναι τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμίου Πομπήϊον
ὑπὸ πόδας κεκλιμένου καὶ περισπαίροντος
ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τρία
λαβεῖν λέγεται· καὶ πολλοὶ κατετρώθησαν ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων, εἰς ἓν ἀπερειδόμενοι σῶμα πληγὰς
τοσαύτας.

LXVII. Κατειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ μὲν
γερουσία, καίπερ εἰς μέσον ἐλθόντος Βρούτου ὡς

At almost the same instant both cried out, the smitten man in Latin: "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help!"

So the affair began, and those who were not privy to the plot were filled with consternation and horror at what was going on; they dared not fly, nor go to Caesar's help, nay, nor even utter a word. But those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter. Therefore Brutus also gave him one blow in the groin. And it is said by some writers that although Caesar defended himself against the rest and darted this way and that and cried aloud, when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he pulled his toga down over his head and sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.

LXVII. Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something

τι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐροῦντος, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη
διὰ θυρῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ φεύγουσα κατέπλησε
ταραχῆς καὶ δέους ἀπόρου τὸν δῆμον,
ὥστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας κλείειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολείπειν
τραπέζας καὶ χρηματιστήρια, δρόμῳ δὲ χωρεῖν
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὀψομένους τὸ πάθος, τοὺς
2 δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἑωρακότας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος
οἱ μάλιστα φίλοι Καίσαρος ὑπεκδύντες εἰς οἰκίας
ἑτέρας κατέφυγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον, ὥσπερ
ἦσαν ἔτι θερμοὶ τῷ φόνῳ, γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη
δεικνύντες, ἅμα πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
συστραφέντες ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐ
φεύγουσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ μάλα φαιδροὶ καὶ θαρραλέοι,
παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
3 ἐντυγχανόντων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ συνανέβαινον αὐτοῖς 740
καὶ κατεμίγνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς μετεσχηκότες
τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, ὧν ἦν
καὶ Γάϊος Ὀκταούϊος καὶ Λέντλος Σπινθήρ.
οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλαζονείας δίκην ἔδωκαν
ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος
ἀναιρεθέντες καὶ μηδὲ τῆς δόξης, δι᾽ ἣν ἀπέθνησκον,
ἀπολαύσαντες ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων. οὐδὲ
γὰρ οἱ κολάζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς
βουλήσεως τὴν δίκην ἔλαβον.

4 Μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν δὲ τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον κατελθόντων
καὶ ποιησαμένων λόγους, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔτε δυσχεραίνων
οὔτε ὡς ἐπαινῶν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς
λεγομένοις προσεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεδήλου τῇ πολλῇ
σιωπῇ Καίσαρα μὲν οἰκτείρων, αἰδούμενος δὲ
Βροῦτον, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμνηστίας τινὰς καὶ

about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen. Antony and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others. But Brutus and his partisans, just as they were, still warm from the slaughter, displaying their daggers bare, went all in a body out of the senate-house and marched to the Capitol, not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence, summoning the multitude to freedom, and welcoming into their ranks the most distinguished of those who met them. Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Antony and the young Caesar, without even enjoying the fame for the sake of which they died, owing to the disbelief of their fellow men. For even those who punished them did not exact a penalty for what they did, but for what they wished they had done.

On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus. The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and

συμβάσεις πράττουσα πᾶσι Καίσαρα μὲν ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κινεῖν μηδὲ τὸ μικρότατον ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἄρχων ἐβούλευσε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον ἐπαρχίας τε διένειμε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπέδωκε πρεπούσας, ὥστε πάντας οἴεσθαι τὰ πράγματα κατάστασιν ἔχειν καὶ σύγκρασιν ἀπειληφέναι τὴν ἀρίστην.

LXVIII. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος
ἀνοιχθεισῶν εὑρέθη δεδομένη Ῥωμαίων ἑκάστῳ
δόσις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κομιζόμενον δι'
ἀγορᾶς ἐθεάσαντο ταῖς πληγαῖς διαλελωβημένον,
οὐκέτι κόσμον εἶχεν οὐδὲ τάξιν αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος,
ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς
βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας ὑφῆψαν αὐτοῦ
καὶ κατέκαυσαν, ἀράμενοι δὲ δαλοὺς διαπύρους
ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων ὡς καταφλέξοντες,
ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφοίτων πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως
συλλαβεῖν καὶ διασπάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας*
2 *ζητοῦντες. οἷς ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπήντησεν,
ἀλλὰ εὖ πεφραγμένοι πάντες ἦσαν. Κίννας δέ
τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἑταίρων ἔτυχε μέν, ὥς φασι,
τῆς παρῳχημένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἑωρακὼς ἄτοπον·
ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλεῖσθαι,
παραιτούμενος δὲ ἄγεσθαι τῆς χειρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀντιτείνων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν
ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα καίεσθαι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀναστὰς
ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ, καίπερ ὑφορώμενός τε*
3 *τὴν ὄψιν ἅμα καὶ πυρέττων. καί τις ὀφθέντος
αὐτοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ἔφρασεν ἑτέρῳ τοὔνομα πυν-*

reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honours and not to disturb even the most insignificant measure which he had adopted when in power; while to Brutus and his partisans it distributed provinces and gave suitable honours, so that everybody thought that matters were decided and settled in the best possible manner.

LXVIII. But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum, they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him

θανομένῳ, κἀκεῖνος ἄλλῳ, καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐθὺς ἦν ὡς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων Καίσαρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ Κίννας ἐν τοῖς συνομοσαμένοις, ὃν τοῦτον εἶναι προλαβόντες ὥρμησαν εὐθὺς καὶ διέσπασαν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 4 *τοῦτο μάλιστα δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἃ δὲ καὶ πράξαντες καὶ παθόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γέγραπται.*

LXIX. *Θνήσκει δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν πάντα γεγονὼς ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, Πομπηΐῳ δ' ἐπιβιώσας οὐ πολὺ πλέον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων, ἣν δὲ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ κινδύνων τοσούτων διώκων μόλις κατειργάσατο, ταύτης οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τοὔνομα μόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπίφθονον καρπωσάμενος δόξαν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.* 2 *ὁ μέντοι μέγας αὐτοῦ δαίμων, ᾧ παρὰ τὸν βίον ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρὸς τοῦ φόνου, διά τε γῆς πάσης καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαύνων καὶ ἀνιχνεύων ἄχρι τοῦ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ὁτιοῦν ἢ χειρὶ τοῦ ἔργου θιγόντας ἢ γνώμης μετασχόντας ἐπεξελθεῖν.*

3 *Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ περὶ Κάσσιον· ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐκείνῳ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέφθειρεν ἑαυτὸν ᾧ κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐχρήσατο· τῶν δὲ θείων ὅ τε μέγας κομήτης (ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος*

what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming that this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them.[1] This more than anything else made Brutus and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards they withdrew from the city. What they did and suffered before they died, has been told in the Life of Brutus.

LXIX. At the time of his death Caesar was fully fifty-six years old, but he had survived Pompey not much more than four years, while of the power and dominion which he had sought all his life at so great risks, and barely achieved at last, of this he had reaped no fruit but the name of it only, and a glory which had awakened envy on the part of his fellow citizens. However, the great guardian-genius of the man, whose help he had enjoyed through life, followed upon him even after death as an avenger of his murder, driving and tracking down his slayers over every land and sea until not one of them was left, but even those who in any way soever either put hand to the deed or took part in the plot were punished.

Among events of man's ordering, the most amazing was that which befell Cassius; for after his defeat at Philippi he slew himself with that very dagger which he had used against Caesar; and among events of divine ordering, there was the great comet, which showed itself in great splendour for seven nights

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[1] Cf. the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f.

σφαγὴν διαπρεπής, εἶτα ἠφανίσθη) καὶ τὸ περὶ 741
4 τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαύρωμα τῆς αὐγῆς. ὅλον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὠχρὸς μὲν ὁ κύκλος καὶ μαρμαρυγὰς
οὐκ ἔχων ἀνέτελλεν, ἀδρανὲς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸν
ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατῄει τὸ θερμόν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἀέρα
δνοφερὸν καὶ βαρὺν ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς διακρινούσης
αὐτὸν ἀλέας ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἡμιπέπτους
καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἀπανθῆσαι καὶ παρακμάσαι
5 διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος. μάλιστα
δὲ τὸ Βρούτῳ γενόμενον φάσμα τὴν Καίσαρος ἐδήλωσε
σφαγὴν οὐ γενομένην θεοῖς ἀρεστήν· ἦν δὲ
τοιόνδε. μέλλων τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου διαβιβάζειν
εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον ἀνεπαύετο νυκτός,
ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατὰ σκηνήν, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ
φροντίζων περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· λέγεται γὰρ οὗτος
ἀνὴρ ἥκιστα δὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπνώδης γενέσθαι
καὶ πλεῖστον ἑαυτῷ χρόνον ἐγρηγορότι χρῆσθαι
6 πεφυκώς· ψόφου δέ τινος αἰσθέσθαι περὶ
τὴν θύραν ἔδοξε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λύχνου φῶς ἤδη
καταφερομένου σκεψάμενος ὄψιν εἶδε φοβερὰν
ἀνδρὸς ἐκφύλου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ χαλεποῦ τὸ εἶδος.
ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς ἑώρα μήτε πράττοντά
τι μήτε φθεγγόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἑστῶτα σιγῇ παρὰ
7 τὴν κλίνην, ἠρώτα ὅστις ἐστίν. ἀποκρίνεται δ᾽
αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα· "Ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων
κακός· ὄψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους." τότε μὲν
οὖν ὁ Βροῦτος εὐθαρσῶς, "Ὄψομαι," εἶπε· καὶ
τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθὺς ἐκποδὼν ἀπῄει. τῷ δ᾽ ἱκνουμένῳ
χρόνῳ περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἀντιταχθεὶς
Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσας
τὸ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεξήλασε
8 πορθῶν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον, τὴν δὲ δευτέ-

after Caesar's murder, and then disappeared; also, the obscuration of the sun's rays. For during all that year its orb rose pale and without radiance, while the heat that came down from it was slight and ineffectual, so that the air in its circulation was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth that penetrated it, and the fruits, imperfect and half ripe, withered away and shrivelled up on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But more than anything else the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods; and it was on this wise. As he was about to take his army across from Abydos to the other continent, he was lying down at night, as his custom was, in his tent, not sleeping, but thinking of the future; for it is said that of all generals Brutus was least given to sleep, and that he naturally remained awake a longer time than anybody else. And now he thought he heard a noise at the door, and looking towards the light of the lamp, which was slowly going out, he saw a fearful vision of a man of unnatural size and harsh aspect. At first he was terrified, but when he saw that the visitor neither did nor said anything, but stood in silence by his couch, he asked him who he was. Then the phantom answered him: "I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." At the time, then, Brutus said courageously: "I shall see thee;" and the heavenly visitor at once went away. Subsequently, however, when arrayed against Antony and Caesar at Philippi, in the first battle he conquered the enemy in his front, routed and scattered them, and sacked the camp of Caesar; but as he was about to fight the second

ραν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντι φοιτᾷ τὸ αὐτὸ φάσμα τῆς νυκτὸς αὖθις, οὐχ ὥστε τι προσειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὁ Βροῦτος *τὸ πεπρωμένον ἔρριψε φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. οὐ μὴν ἔπεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης ἀναφυγὼν πρός τι κρημνῶδες καὶ τῷ ξίφει γυμνῷ προσβαλὼν τὸ στέρνον, ἅμα καὶ φίλου τινός, ὥς φασι, συνεπιρρώσαντος τὴν πληγήν, ἀπέθανεν.*

battle, the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him, Brutus understood his fate, and plunged headlong into danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but after the rout retired to a crest of ground, put his naked sword to his breast (while a certain friend, as they say, helped to drive the blow home), and so died.[1]

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[1] Cf. the *Brutus*, xxxvi.; xlviii.; lii.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

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A

Achillas, 559, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii.-lxxx.

Afranius, 531, 543, 567, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.)

Agrippa, 215, Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63–12 B.C.

Alcetas, 383, a brother of Perdiccas, whom he supported after Alexander's death. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C., Alcetas forsook Eumenes, and was joined by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. They were defeated by Antigonus in 320, and Alcetas slew himself rather than fall into the hands of his enemy.

Alcidamas, 13, of Elea in Asia Minor, a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias, who resided at Athens 431–411 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 245, 307, 375 f., of Abdera, a philosopher who accompanied Alexander on his campaigns in Asia and won his favour by flattery. After the death of Alexander, Anaxarchus fell into the hands of Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, whom he had offended, and was cruelly put to death.

Anaximenes, 71, 215, of Lampsacus, a rhetorician and historian, who lived *circa* 390–320 B.C.

Androcottus, 401 f., or Sandrocottus, an Indian prince who achieved the conquest of northern India after Alexander's death. Seleucus waged unsuccessful war upon him.

Anticleides, 357, of Athens, author of a history of Alexander about which nothing further is known

Antigenes, 357, otherwise unknown.

Antigonus, 437, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, and father of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Antiochus of Ascalon, 89 f., called the founder of the Fifth Academy. Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (*Brutus*, 91, 315.)

Antipater, 67–79, 219–437, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antiphanes, 11, 25, of Rhodes, a poet of the Middle Comedy, who began his career in 383 B.C.

Antonius, 109 f., 121, 137, Caius A., uncle of Mark Antony the triumvir. He served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies and wasting his substance. After the events here described, he went to his province of Macedonia, and in 59 B.C. was convicted of extortion there, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Apollonia, 195, 533 f., an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a famous seat of learning.

Apollonius, 91 f., 447, son of Molon, and sometimes called Molon, a native of Alabanda in Caria, and a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 90, 312; 91, 316.

Aristander of Telmessus, 227, 261, 295 f., 317, 323, 369, 375, the chief soothsayer of Alexander, and probably the author of a work "On Prodigies" referred to by Pliny and Lucian.

Aristobulus, of Cassandreia, 57, 261, 269, 273, 285, 357, 433, accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote a history of his campaigns, of which we know most from Arrian's *Anabasis*.

Ariston, the Chian, 25, 75, a Stoic philosopher who flourished about 260 B.C.

Aristoxenus, 233, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.

Arrhidaeus, 249, 437, a bastard son of Philip of Macedon. He was put to death by order of Olympias in 317 B.C.

Artemidorus, 595, of Cnidus, a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, and a friend of Caesar.

Artemisius, 265, see Daesius.

Attalus (1), 247, 251, one of Philip's generals. After Philip's death he was assassinated by order of Alexander.

Attalus (2), 383, one of Alexander's chief officers, and the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus joined Alcetas, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Antigonus. See Alcetas.

B

Balbus, 583, Lucius Cornelius B., a native of Gades in Spain, who came to Rome at the end of the war with Sertorius (72 B.C.). He served under Caesar both in Gaul and during the civil war, and was the manager of Caesar's property. After Caesar's death Balbus was high in favour with Octavius. For the incident here noted, cf. Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 78.

Bessus, 349, 353, satrap of Bactria under Dareius III., and commander of the Persian left wing at the battle of Arbela.

Bestia, 139, Lucius Calpurnius B., one of the conspirators with Catiline. Cicero was afterwards reconciled with him, and defended him unsuccessfully when accused of bribery in his candidacy for the praetorship in 57 B.C.

Bibulus, 473 f., Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He died in 48.

Boëdromion, 69, 317, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.

Brundisium, 181 f., 529, 533, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 593, 597, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus, was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. He was put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C.

C

Caecilius, 7, Caecilius Calactinus, a native of Sicily, a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus.

Calanus, 409, 417, one of the Indian philosophers called gymnosophists.

Calenus, 545, Quintus Fufius C., tribune of the people in 61 B.C., and praetor in 59 through Caesar's influence, whom he ever afterwards faithfully served, holding high commands under him in Gaul and during the civil war. He died in 41 B.C.

Callias the Syracusan, 13, otherwise unknown.

Callisthenes, 303, 323, 327, 375–385, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.

Callistratus, 11, 13, 33, a distinguished orator and statesman at Athens, who flourished from about 380 to about 361 B.C., when he was condemned to death and fled the city.

Carneades, 89, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129. See the *Cato Major*, xxii.

Casca, 597 f., Publius Servilius C., at this time tribune of the people. He fought in the battle of Philippi, and died soon afterwards. His brother, Caius Servilius Casca, had also been a friend of Caesar, and was a fellow conspirator.

Cassander, 33, 429, f., a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297 B.C.

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius C., 83., 133, 157, 455 ff., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60.

Chares (1). 215, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.

Chares (2), 281, 295, 357, 381, 385, 419, of Mitylené, court chamberlain of Alexander, and author of an anecdotical history of Alexander's campaigns.

Cicero, 503, Quintus Tullius C., younger brother of the orator, served as legate under Caesar in Gaul, but went over to Pompey in the civil war. He fell a victim to the proscription of the triumvirs in 43 B.C.

Cimber, 597, Lucius Tillius C., had been a warm supporter of Caesar and was rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia, to which he retired after Caesar's murder, and co-operated with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna, 603 f., Caius Helvius C., see the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f., and the Dict. of Proper Names for Vol. vi.

Cithaeron, 57, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia.

Citium, Citieans, 323, a city of Cyprus.

Cleitarchus, 357, a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a highly rhetorical account of it. He was the son of Deinon of Colophon, who was author of a history of Persia.

Cleitomachus, 87, 91, a Carthaginian by birth, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens from about 146 B.C. to about 111. In 129 he succeeded Carneades as head of the New Academy.

Cleitus, 259, 267, 369–375, was commander of one of the two companies of the "companion" cavalry, and at the time of his death had been made satrap of Bactria by Alexander.

Cleopatra (1), 247, 251, 297, 415, soon after this put to cruel death by Olympias, together with her infant child, who was regarded as a rival of Alexander.

Cleopatra (2), 557 ff., queen of Egypt. See the *Antony*, xxv. ff.

Clodius. 151–171, 463–467, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralise the soldiers of Lucullus (*Lucullus*, xxxiv.), and became a venomous foe of Cicero.

Coenus, 397, son-in-law of Parmenio, and one of the ablest of Alexander's officers. He died shortly after the army had begun its return from India.

Collytus, 29, an Attic deme, or township.

Cornificius, 545 (Corfinius), Quintus C., a quaestor under Caesar in 48 B.C., and a friend of Cicero. In 45 Caesar made him governor of Syria, and in 44 he had the province of Africa, where he fought against the second triumvirate, and fell in battle.

Craterus, 345–383, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, v. ff.

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 143, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son. See the *Brutus*, xxiv. 1 f.

Ctesibius, 13, perhaps the Cynic philosopher of Chalcis in Euboea, who was the instructor of Antigonus Doson, king of Macedonia (229-221 B.C.).

Curio, 461, 515–519, Caius Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii, 23–44.)

D

Daesius, 265, 433, a Macedonian month answering to the Attic Thargelion, *i.e.* May-June. It followed Artemisius.

Dareius, 263 ff., Dareius III., surnamed Codomannus, came to the throne of Persia in 336 B.C.

Deinon, 333, of Colophon, see Cleitarchus.

Demaratus the Corinthian, 247 f., 337, 385, known only from these incidents.

Demetrius (1), 33, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (cf. Plutarch's *Demetrius*, ix.).

Demetrius (2), the Phalerean, 23–27 35, 71, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346–283 B.C.). He was guardian, or regent, of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demetrius (3), surnamed Pheido, 383, son of Pythonax, one of the "companion" cavalry (Arrian, *Anab.*, iv. 12, 5).

Demetrius (4), the Magnesian, 39, 69, a Greek grammarian contemporary with Cicero.

Diogenes of Sinopé, 259, 409, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He died at Corinth in 323, according to Plutarch (*Morals*, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.

Dionysius of Magnesia, 91, a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316.

Diopeithes, 215, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at

Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration "On the Chersonese."

Dolabella, 191 f., 449, 563, 589, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70–43 B.C. He took part with Caesar in 49, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Domitius (1), 179, 527 f., 545, 549, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was Cato's son-in-law, and one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until their quarrel, then sided with Pompey. He met his death at Pharsalus.

Domitius (2), 547, 561, Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, consul in 53 B.C. He was a supporter of Bibulus against Caesar in 59, but after 49 an active supporter of Caesar. After the battle of Pharsalus he was Caesar's lieutenant in Asia.

Duris, 47, 57, 261, 357, of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant, of Samos, lived *circa* 350–280 B.C.

Dyrrhachium, 181, 529, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Eratosthenes, 23, 75, 229, 317, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275–194 B.C.

Erigyius, 251, of Mitylené, an officer in Alexander's army. He fell in battle 328 B.C

F

Favonius, 497, 525, 543, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52 B.C., and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavius Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.)

G

Gabinius, 157, 161, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Granicus, 263 f., a river in the Troad emptying into the Propontis.

H

Hagnon, the Teian, 343, 383, afterwards admiral under Antigonus.

Harpalus, 61 f., 243, 251, 333, 347, Alexander's faithless treasurer. Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison, whence he escaped and went to Crete. Here he was assassinated.

Hecataeus, of Eretria, 357, known only from this citation.

Hegesias, the Magnesian, 231, a rhetorician and historian who flourished in the early part of the third century B.C., and was noted for his inane conceits.

Helicon, 323, son of Acesas, of Salamis in Cyprus. Father and son were famous weavers of embroidered textures, probably in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.

Hephaestion, 307, 341, 343, 347, 361, 367, 381, 383, 425, 433, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.

Heracleides, 299, of Alexandria, a historian who flourished under Ptolemy IV. (222–205 B.C.)

Hermioné, 333, a city in southern Argolis.

Hermippus, 13, 27, 71, 75, 381, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer who was active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodes, 143, probably the business manager of Cicero's friend Atticus. Cf. Cicero *ad Att.*, vi. 1, 25.

I

Idomeneus, 39, 57, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.) author of biographical works entitled "The Socratics" and "The Demagogues."

Iolas, 429, 437, the time and manner of his death are unknown. He is last mentioned in connection with the marriage of his sister to Perdiccas, in 322 B.C.

Ion, 7, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isaeus, 13, a professional writer of speeches for the law-courts 420–350 B.C., and numbered among the ten great Attic orators.

Isauricus, 457, 533, Publius Servilius Vatia I., deserted the aristocratic party to support Caesar, but after Caesar's death returned to his former allegiance. He tried with more or less success to hold a middle course as between Antony and Octavius Caesar.

Isocrates, 13, 215, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436–338 B.C.

Ister, 357, a slave, and afterwards a friend of Callimachus the Alexandrian grammarian and poet (250–220 B.C.), a voluminous writer, whose works are all lost.

L

Labienus, 181, 487, 527, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).

Lacritus, the rhetorician, 71, of Phaselis in Pamphylia, a pupil of Isocrates about 350 B.C.

Laelius, 219, perhaps the Laelius Decimus who was prominent during the civil war as a partisan of Pompey, and held military command under him.

Lentulus (1), 513, 519, 525, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, on the outbreak of civil war joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxx. 4.

Lentulus (2), 167, 179 (cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 83), 545, 601, Lucius Cornelius L. Spinther, consul in 57 B.C. through Caesar's influence, but took the field for Pompey at the outbreak of civil war in 49. He also, like Lentulus Crus, fled with Pompey to Egypt, but got safe to Rhodes.

Lentulus (3), 123–127, 135 f., 141, 459, Publius Cornelius L., surnamed Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspirators with Catiline.

Lentulus (4), 189, the name by which Dolabella was sometimes called after his adoption into the plebeian family of Gneius Lentulus in order that he might become a candidate for the tribuneship. Dolabella was Tullia's third husband. See Tullia.

Leonnatus, 283, 343, 405, one of Alexander's most distinguished officers. He fell in 322 B.C., while attempting to relieve Antipater at Lamia.

Leosthenes, 67, 215, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia.

Lepidus, 201, 591, 601, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., was Caesar's magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the second triumvirate received Spain as his province, then, in 40, Africa. Here he remained till 36, when he was deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lucullus, 449, Marcus Licinius L., younger brother of the great Lucullus, also called by adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., and afterwards a warm friend of Cicero. He died before the civil war.

Lysimachus, 357, 383, an officer of Alexander, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

M

Maecenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the patron of poets and artists during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.

Marcellus, 195, 513 f., Caius Claudius M., consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marsyas 43, of Pella in Macedonia, author of a history of his own country from earliest times down to 332 B.C.

Mazaeus, 321, 343, a Persian officer under Dareius III., afterwards made satrap of Babylon by Alexander.

Megabyzus, 349, probably a priest or keeper of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

Menippus, the Carian, 91, the most accomplished rhetorician of his time in Asia. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91. 315.

Metellus (1), 119, 155, Quintus Caecilius M. Celer, consul in 60 B.C., and an influential aristocrat. He was a violent opponent of Caesar during the latter's consulship in 59, in which year he died.

Metellus (2) 529 f., Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 139, 147, f., Quintus M. Nepos, a brother of Metellus Celer, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.C., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from banishment. He died in 55.

Metellus (4), 479, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of Sulla's most successful generals. Against Sertorius in Spain he was less fortunate. He died about 63.

Murena, 117, 171, 213, Lucius Licinius M., had been quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and had served under Lucullus against Mithridates (*Lucullus*, xix. 7). He was accused of bribery in his canvass for the consulship, was defended by Hortensius and Cicero, and acquitted.

N

Nearchus, 251, 411, 415, 427, 433f., the trusted admiral of Alexander.

Nicocreon, 309, king of Salamis in Cyprus. After the death of Alexander he took sides with Ptolemy of Egypt.

Nonacris, 437, a town in Arcadia, near which the water of the river Styx descended from a cliff.

O

Ochus, 417, Dareius II., 424–404 B.C.

Olympias, 227f., 237, 247, 251, 297, 341, 415, 437, 439, Alexander's mother. She was put to death in 316 B.C., by order of Cassander.

Onesicritus, 243, 261, 357, 395, 399, 409, 411, a Greek who accompanied Alexander in Asia and wrote an account of his campaigns. His work contained valuable information, but was full of exaggerations and falsehoods.

Oppius, 485, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar, and author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar.

Oricum, 533, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.

Oxyartes, 389, a Bactrian prince, father of Roxana. Alexander made him satrap of northern India. He supported Eumenes until the death of that officer, and then came to terms with Antigonus.

P

Panaetius, the philosopher, 33, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.

Pappus, 75, otherwise unknown.

Parmenio, 231, 249, 265, 277, 285f., 311, 317ff., 327, 343, 361ff., 369, an able and trusted commander under both Philip and Alexander.

Pasicrates, 309, king of Soli in Cyprus.

Patavium, 555, an ancient and important city of Venetia, the modern Padua.

Paulus, 515, Lucius Aemilius P., consul in 50 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar. Cf. the *Pompey*, lviii. 1.

Pelops, of Byzantium, 143, not otherwise known.

Perdiccas, 79, 263, 347, 437, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and who was regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.

Peucestas, 347f., 405, a distinguished officer of Alexander, and satrap of Persia. It was chiefly due to him that Eumenes met with disaster in 316 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, xiv. ff.

Pharmacusa, 445, a small island off the coast of Caria, about 120 furlongs south of Miletus.

Philip (1), 195, Lucius Marcius Philippus, consul in 56 B.C., married Atia, the widow of Caius Octavius, thus becoming the stepfather of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral during the civil wars.

Philip (2), 399, made satrap of India by Alexander in 327 B.C. In the following year he was assassinated by his mercenaries.

Philip (3), the Chalcidian, 357, known only from this citation.

Philip (4), of Theangela (in Caria), 357, author of a history of Caria which is cited by Athenaeus and Strabo.

Philistus, 243, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philo, the Theban, 357, known only from this citation.

Philon, the Academic, 87, 91, a native of Larissa in Thessaly,

and a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and Rome during Cicero's lifetime. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 89, 306.

Philotas, 249, 255, 317, 343, 361–369, the son of Parmenio.

Philoxenus, 243, of Cythera, one of the most distinguished dithyrambic poets of Greece (435–380 B.C.), resident at Athens and Syracuse.

Phylarchus, 67, an Athenian historian, author of a history of Greece from 272 to 220 B.C. Plutarch is heavily indebted to him in his *Agis and Cleomenes*, and *Pyrrhus*.

Piso (1), 127, 457, Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.C., and a violent aristocrat. As pro-consul he plundered his province of Gallia Narbonensis. He must have died before the civil war.

Piso (2), 157, 475, 531, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.C. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration *de Provinc. Cons.* He took no part in the civil war that followed.

Piso (3), 161, 189, Caius Calpurnius P. Frugi, married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63 B.C. He was quaestor in 58, and used every endeavour to secure the recall of Cicero from exile, but died before his father-in-law's return. Cicero mentions him often with gratitude.

Pollio, 523, 553, 567, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.–4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.

Polycleitus, 357, of Larissa in Thessaly, one of the numerous historians of Alexander, of uncertain date.

Poseidonius, 91, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him. Cf. Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 1, 3, 6.

Potamon, the Lesbian, 399, a rhetorician who enjoyed the favour of the emperor Tiberius (14–37 A.D.), and was an authority on the career of Alexander.

Potheinus, 557f., one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt.

Ptolemy, 251, 337, 357, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and afterwards king of Egypt. He wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns which is the chief authority for Arrian.

Pyanepsion, 71, 77, the Athenian month corresponding to parts of October and November.

Python (or Pithon), 435, son of Craterus, one of the seven select officers forming the immediate bodyguard of Alexander. After the death of Alexander he supported Perdiccas, but went over to Antigonus and Seleucus when they made war upon Eumenes.

R

Roxana, 359, 437, daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian prince. With her son by Alexander she was taken to Macedonia by Antipater. Mother and son were put to death in 311 B.C. by order of Cassander.

S

Samothrace, 227, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.

Scaurus, 83, Marcus Aemilius S. Father and son of this name were prominent in the Roman aristocracy from 126 to 52 B.C., the former having been consul in 115. Both were venal, but the first was often highly praised, and the second was defended, by Cicero.

Scipio (1), 479, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal, 234–183 B.C.

Scipio (2), 481, 517, 519, 541, 545, 549, 563f., 571, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius, and therefore often called Metellus Scipio, was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for the latter part of the year 52 B.C., and a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.

Seleucus, 349, 401, 435, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.

Silanus, 117, 127, 131f., Decimus Junius S., stepfather of Marcus Brutus, had been aedile in 70 B.C.

Sotion, 399, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the first part of the first century A.D.

Stateira, 419, 437, daughter of Dareius III., and wife of Alexander. Stateira was also her mother's name (pp. 311ff.).

T

Tanusius, 497, Tanusius Geminus, a Roman historian of Cicero's time (probably), the nature and scope of whose work is uncertain.

Telestes, 243, of Selinus in Sicily, won a dithyrambic victory at Athens in 401 B.C. A few of his verses are preserved in Athenaeus (pp. 616 and 617, 626a, 637a).

Thapsacus, 415, an important town commanding a crossing of the Euphrates, east of Upper Syria.

Theodectes, 273, a distinguished rhetorician and tragic poet, a pupil of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and an imitator of Euripides. He flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon, and lived for the most part at Athens.

Theodotus, 555, a rhetorician of Chios (or Samos), put to death by Brutus. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii. 2; lxxx. 6.

Theophilus, 323, an artist in metal work, not otherwise known.

Theophrastus, 25, 41, 141, 233, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 9, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336.

Theramenes, 183, a brilliant Athenian naval commander who co-operated successfully with Alcibiades during the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.

Thurii, 71, a colony of Athens in Lucania, Italy, founded under Pericles.

Tralles, 555, a large and flourishing city in north-western Caria.

Tullia, 189, daughter of Cicero and Terentia, married Caius Calpurnius Piso in 63 B.C., was a widow in 57, married Furius Crassipes in 56, from whom she was soon divorced. In 50 she married Dolabella (Lentulus) from whom she was divorced in 46. She bore him a son in 45, but died soon after at her father's house in Tusculum.

V

Varro, 531, the most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He held high command under Pompey in the war against the pirates, the Mithridatic war, and in Spain with Afranius. After the campaign in Spain he joined Pompey in Greece, but after the battle at Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar's mercy, was pardoned by him, and restored to literary activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.

X

Xenocles, of Adramyttium, 91, a distinguished rhetorician, mentioned by Strabo (p. 614). Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316.

Xenocrates, 245, of Chalcedon, 396–314 B.C., an associate of Aeschines the Socratic and Plato, and head of the Academy at Athens for twenty-five years.

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